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Edited by
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DEVELOPMENT PLANNING FOR THE DALIT IN MYSORE DISTRICT

P. K. MISRA*

(*Received on August 22, 1974*)

Abstract : The problem of development plannin fo weakest tribal groups in Mysore District on the bas study of the hitherto food gathering Jenu Kuruba. A situation in terms of the exploitative pressures of the dominant society indicates that developmen cannot administrative measures alone. The constraints on dev have to be resolved to a great extent through social political mobilization of the exploited tribals against t class interests of the dominant outsiders.

THIS paper is mainly concerned with those groups who are most *dalit* (decisively weak) in the district. Food gathering is the earliest form of food procurement. Hunting, domestication of plants and animals, use of metals, harnessing energy sources for obtaining food have been developed by human beings in the last 10,000 years or so only. But there continue to be some remote areas in the world where people either till very recently or even now live by food gathering only. It is not a matter to boast about, yet it is true that some of the most primitive people of the world are found in the Mysore District. Some of the tribal groups of the district till

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very recently lived to a great extent by food gathering—the earliest form of food procurement. The life of these food gatherers might have not been a miserable in the past as it is now for various reasons, some of which we will discuss a little later. It needs no further arguments that for our purpose here the people who live or who have lived till very recently on food procurement along are the most dalit.

Objective

Any development planning for the dalit should have the following two basic objectives. First, the dalit should be liberated from the oppression, so that they should be able to lead their life with dignity. Second, their economy should quickly develop so that they are able to provide for themselves the basic necessities of life without much hardship.

It will be clear to any critical observer that the former aspect cannot be achieved merely by administrative reforms or by planning because the class interest of the people on the other side of the dividing line, the lack of social awakening of the dalit themselves, the historical experience of the people and several other local factors are responsible for the dalit being what they are. However, the official assumption in the developmental programmes is that if once rapid economic development of the dalit takes place, appreciable dent in other spheres may be made and there may start a process by which structural changes may take place in the society and the dalit will be liberated.

Facts of the case

The population of the scheduled tribes in the Mysore District is 19,547 according to 1971 Census. Tribal population above 1000 are found in six contiguous taluks of the district, namely, Chamarajnagar (1,644), Gundulpet (1,105), Heggadadevankote (6,686), Hunsur (2,519), Kollegal (4,243) and Periyapatna (1,199). Further, in these taluks the tribal populations are concentrated in certain pockets. These pockets are situated on hills, in sparsely populated

jungle areas, and in the forests along the rivers Kabini and Lakshmanthirtha. For instance, the entire population of tribals in Yeallandur taluk is located on Biligirirangana Hills, the majority of the tribal population in Heggadadevankote is in the forests along the river Kabini. The location of these pockets shows that the tribals living in them should have been mainly dependent upon the forest resources.

The history of mankind shows that everywhere the food gatherers have been pushed back into inhospitable areas. The situation has not been different here. The peasantry with long years of farming experience have continuously extended their habitats into the dalit territories in the district, appropriating for themselves all the land which can be cultivated. While the peasantry have been stretching themselves into the forests, the food gatherers, shy as they are, have been squeezing themselves inside the forests. Not only the forests have shrunk in size, continuous irresponsible exploitation of the forests, by the population on the fringe have denuded the forest wealth. It is irresponsible exploitation because t[...] does not live inside the forests and are not depend[...] Food gatherers cannot afford to be that irresponsib[...]tation of the forests for the simple reason th[...] depended upon the continuous supply of the foo[...] they have clear notions about the preservation o[...] animal life. However, the present situation is that fore[...] the district are not rich enough to continuously supply food to the population which has been mainly dependent upon them. The result of this has been the food gatherers have to seek some stable means of food procurement. In times of scarcity and otherwise too shifting cultivation used to supplement their food supply. But now shifting cultivation is either not possible or banned. Now most of the food gatherers living in these pockets work as labourers on daily wages employed by forest department, private contractors and farmers. On the one hand the wages paid by the employers are woefully low and on the other the employers exploit the food gatherers in all possible manners. The behaviour of these employers towards the tribals is generally cruel, indecent and for their own profits they make

them do various illegal activities. I have seen bamboo contractors in Begur forests paying low wages to the dalits, beating them to extract work and making them carry more loads of bamboo than their permit allows them to do. The dalit have become so used to these oppressions that, perhaps, they do not even think that these grievances can be ever redressed. The result is that some of them like the Jenu Kuruba as far as possible, try to withdraw themselves whenever a situation of confrontation arises. They have allowed most of the development schemes initiated by the government to peter away. Their condition is the most miserable of the entire tribal population in the district.

The Betta Kuruba in Heggadadevankote are able to supplement their income through their traditional craft of basketry. They have responded to the various development programmes initiated by the government. Wherever they were given land, they have tried to make use of it. The Soligas in Biligirirangana Hills, still practise shifting cultivation, but have also taken to silk worm rearing to some extent, and engage themselves in other petty occupation, too.

But whether it is the case of the Soliga or the Betta Kuruba who are putting up a brave front or the Jenu Kuruba who have given up the fight, all of them, are exploited by the money-lenders, crafty traders, clever and experienced peasants, petty forest officials and now petty development officers too.

A glance through successive five year plans shows that budget allocation for the welfare of the backward classes in the first five year plan was 109·68 lakhs and now in the fifth plan it is 2500·00 lakhs. A fair amount of expenditure on backward classes has gone for the development of the scheduled tribes.

In the first five year plan, the major emphasis was on providing housing facilities to the dalit but in the successive plans the emphasis changed for raising their educational level and developing their economy. In fact, the outlay on education for scheduled tribes in the fourth five year plan was 31·50 lakhs almost double of what was allocated for economic development in the same plan and in the fifth five year plan layout on education on the scheduled tribes has been increased to 147·22

lakhs. In the successive plans almost every conceivable development scheme has been thought about for the development of the tribals. Ashram schools have been opened where they get besides education, free meals, clothing, books, etc. Hostels have been constructed. Tribal students have been given scholarships. Efforts have been made to develop crafts among them. Subsidies have been given to them for purchase of raw material. Co-operative societies have been formed. They have been provided with agriculture implements, seeds, manure and plough bullocks. Drinking water wells have been dug. Roads in tribal areas have been formed. Health centres and mobile health units have been opened. Tribal meetings and conferences have been organised. There is hardly a sector which has not been covered under various plans. But in spite of the comprehensive planning and efforts to implement the plans the desired or expected development has not been achieved. Why the desired results have not been achieved? This is the most crucial question for any future plan the dalit. It may, however, be stated in passing is a big gap between planning and implementation. The administrative machinery responsible for imp of the plans is neither oriented for the purpose nor nel involved in it are committed to the broad objecti plans. For these reasons and several others many of have remained on paper or if implemented have been done just to satisfy the official requirements.

Strategy of development planning for the dalit

1. It is evident from the facts given above that the tribals particularly those who are living in certain pockets are in a miserable condition. In their case some kind of a clinical approach for their development is required. Before any new scheme is introduced among the tribal people or new suggestions are thought about it will be absolutely necessary to find out what has happened to those schemes which have already been introduced among them. There has to be long range and short term reviews of the schemes launched under planned development and the results of such reviews should be made

use of for any future planning and in changing the courses of the current schemes if so required. The plans for the tribal development have got to be flexible, they have to suit the genius of each tribe. In Mysore District, a plan which may work say among the Betta Kuruba, everything else being equal, may not work among the Jenu Kuruba though both these groups share the same habitat and are neighbours. In other words what I am arguing here is that no matter how big is the budget allocation and the targets of a plan it may not give the desired results if specific needs of a people and area are not taken into account. There cannot be a standard development plan as there is no standard tribal group. The culture and problems of one tribe differ from that of the other. Further, the tribals living in one environment are different from those who are in the other. Thus, the plan for the *development of tribals has to be flexible so that its course can* be altered during the period of its implementation if there is a need and the plan should be such that it suits the culture and problems of each group.

2. In Mysore District we have identified certain tribal pockets. The tribals living outside these pockets, distributed in smaller numbers in or near about the peasant villages should be considered along with other weaker section of the population. All these pockets are forest based, whether they are situated on the plains, along the river or on the hills. This fact should be recognised in planning for the people in these pockets.

3. It has been stated earlier that the fund allocation from first plan to the present one has increased several times over and all conceivable schemes have been launched under various plans but without obtaining the desired results. One of the major reasons for not getting the desired results is that there is almost no participation of the dalit in planning for their development and their implementation. No plan can be successful if the planners are different from the ones who are going to be effected by it. Eyebrows will be raised if one agrues that the food gatherers should be their own planners and also the implementors of those plans, to the extent it is regionally possible. It must not be forgotten that the food

gathering way of life has been the most successful and persistant adaptation man has ever achieved. The very fact that the Jenu Kuruba with their barest possible technology have been able to exist from the earliest human era to the modern times speaks about their immense abilities to adapt and live successfully. But perhaps they could not adapt to the human environment. In the last several hundred years they have been repeatedly told that they are good for nothing, they are like animals, they are lazy, unproductive, etc., and ultimately it seems they have come to believe what others say about them. I have seen in Ashram schools dalit children being scolded by the teachers that they will never learn as they have animal *budhi* and they are fit to be only what they are. Students produced under such oppressive environs neither can help themselves nor the society to which they belong, howsoever impressive budget allocation may be made for their education. *Trusting the people is indispensible precondition for bringing a[illegible] a radical change in the society.* The dalits have be[illegible] the forests, they know more about it in a practi[illegible] anyone else. They should be involved in th[illegible] planning for the development of the forest area[illegible] implementation of those plans. Nobody need [illegible] particularly the professional planners, that they [illegible] than others. There are certain problems to be solved an[illegible] one who can suggest ways and means to overcome them should be considered as an equal partner.

4. Though the traditional rights of the tribals in the forest cannot be restored in full it should be brought to their understanding that the forest belongs to them and it is they who have the primary responsibility to enrich the forest and have the first right to procure the material from the forest.

5. No trader should be allowed to enter into the tribal pocket. If any selling of the forest products is to take place, it should take place outside the forest area.

6. The wages paid to the tribal workers by the forest department should be brought in par with the other government servants of the department.

7. The petty forest and other officials are as much exploiters as the traders are, and hence it is absolutely necessary that these petty officials are progressively replaced by the tribal officials. This can be achieved in a course of 10 years if systematic efforts are made in that direction. I am quite conscious of the fact that such tribal officials may ultimately mean the change of the personnel and it may not bring any change in their roles. This aspect can be very well taken care of by involving large number of tribals in the process of planning and proper education to them.

8. Vigorous efforts should be made for the education of the tribals. One can even go to the extent of saying that crash programmes for their education should be attempted forthwith.

Teachers to be appointed in the tribal schools should be carefully screened and selected. Only such teachers should be sent in tribal areas who understand the purpose of educating the dalit people and who are sincerely sympathetic to them. It may be added here that some of the teachers have been a source of irreparable damage in developing a proper relationship between the dalits and the agencies engaged in their development. It has also been observed that some of the teachers indulge in all kinds of grants, with the result that the dalit have never been able to have a proper perspective of education.

The courses for the education of dalit should be carefully planned in full consultation with the dalit so that they can understand their position and are able to carry out the struggle for the redemption from the oppression, they suffer with. The education should be such that their creative energies lying dormant get opportunity for expression. I remember that once when I was in Begur forest along with some Jenu Kuruba children in the age range of 8 to 12 years, we felt thirsty. There was a well nearby but there was no rope or bucket there. One of the boys went upto a tree and plucked some leaves and twigs. The boys quickly stringed the twigs to make a long pole and also made a nice bowl by joining the

ves. Soon water was drawn and we quenched our thirst.
is *innovative spirit*, in whatever form it is present among
. dalit should be allowed to flower in the education they are
'en. For this reason it is absolutely necessary that narrative
·m of modern education which discourages innovation, fixes
:rarchical images and which is based on fierce competition
d profit should not be allowed to enter into the dalit
eas.

9. The forest-based industries as envisaged in various
.ns should be further strengthened and the entire manage-
:nt and production, etc. should go in the hands of the dalit
ɔple. Proper market facilities for such products may be
eated so that they get full benefits of their hard work.

THE KUKI (?) UPRISING (1917-1919) : ITS CAUSES AND NATURE

GAUTAM BHADRA*

(Received on October 16, 1974)

Abstract : This article tries to find out the various causes of the so-called Kuki uprising (1917-1919). In this case study, the aim is to show the importance of tribal organisation in the resistance movement against the British in so far it affects the potentialities for the uprising and its particular nature. Again, the simple notion of 'primary resistenoe movement' or 'defensive movement' seems to be inadequate to explain all the complexities of the tribal revolt, particularly in an area where many distinct ethnic groups reside.

ACCORDING to the British officials, the Kuki uprising (1917-1919) in the State of Manipur was a most serious problem to the authority in Assam since the uprising of Tikendrajit at Manipur.[1] Yet it has received scanty historical attention.[2] The official accounts for this movement are voluminious ; it is also possible to get unofficial versions.[3] However, the aim of this present article is not to cover all the aspects of the revolt. It is much more limited.

The anthropologist Furer Haimendorf has described the tribal movements as defensive in character, a last attempt by the helpless desperate community against foreign encroachment on their land and economic resources [4] Historians on the tribal movements in the British India have accepted this as a guiding principle.[5] Now the question is, whether a tribal resistance movement can be explained only in the terms of this single veneer, however important it may be. The second problem is more worth probing. External pressure can operate only

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through internal organisation.[6] The very mode of the expression of the grievances and the nature of the movement depended much on the tribal structure. Thus to understand the internal dynamics of the tribal organisation is as important as the exposure of the British policy to explain any movement of similar nature. The study of the so-called *Kuki* uprising is a modest beginning towards that kind of enquiry.

I The Kukis

The word *Kuki* is a generic term which includes a number of tribes and clans.[7] The British anthropologists divided them into two broad groups—(a) old and (b) new.[8]

The westward and the northern migration of the Kukis from the Chin area was the result of a series of various tribal movements of migration in which the stronger tribes drove the weaker tribes farther.[9] In the last half of the eighteenth century, the old Kukis first migrated from the Lushai ...
settled down in Manipur and Cachar. To the...
Paite, Anal, Purum, Chiru, Hmar, and Kom.[10]
who had been driven by the powerful Lushai clans
ted to Manipur around the middle of the 19th Centu...
the new Kukis. In Manipur they were generally
with the Thadoes.[11] They were generally divide...
principal clans—Dongel, Sitlho, Haokip and Kipgen.[12] ...
from the fact that the old *Kukis* came to the British territory earlier and the new *Kukis* later, there existed a substantial organisational division between two groups.[13]

(*a*) *The story of the revolt* (*1917-1919*)

The story of the revolt can be well reconstructed. The First World War made it necessary for the British Government to have a labour force in the battle-fields of France. The demand for labour corps to serve the British expeditionary force in France was communicated to different princely States like Mayurbhanj, Alwar and Manipur.[14] In 1916, Major Chenevix wrote "regarding the raising of labour corps for service with Indian expeditionary force...if the Hon. Chief Commissioner sees no objection, the Manipur Darbar may be

approached in the matter."[15] Despite some initial hesitation due to the nature of "such very active and unsophisticated persons as the hill tribes of Manipur"[16] the first Manipur Labour Corps consisting of 200 Nagas and Kukis from the hills was raised and sent away by May 1917.[17] But as there was a cry for more recruits for formation of a second labour corps, the Thadoe chiefs refused to be enlisted. In March last when orders were sent to the Kuki chiefs on the hills surrounding the Manipur Valley to supply coolies for the labour Corps, the Principal chiefs of the Thadoes refused "either to send any coolie or to come into Imphal to discuss matter."[18] Despite a meeting with Ngulkhup, the chief of the Mombi village,[19] nothing fruitful came about. "The coolies were unwilling to come in as the chief of Mombi had threatened to raid their villages and kill their women and children if they supplied coolies for France."[20] The local officers took it as a strong exception and burnt the offending villages. Pase, the chief of the Chassad sub-clan of the Haokips, was arrested but promised to supply coolies and during a parole fled. On his excape the other chiefs decided in favour of defiance. After "a meeting of[22] chiefs of Haokip clan who determined to resist by force any disciplinary measure," the situation became tense. The authority argued, "It is essential to the administration of the country peopled with uncivilised tribes that they shall be made to understand that legitimate orders cannot be disobeyed with impunity and that defiance brings certain punishment."[21] As a result, the expeditionary force was sent and meantime the Kukis raided some Nepali and Manipuri villages and carried away a *Lambu*. (*i. e.* local person dealing with the hill people)[22] The rebellion broke out.

The war continued for two long years. The Kukis adopted the hit and run tactics of the partisan warfare. At the firs instance, the British Government found no answer to this "Unfortunately tactics adopted by the Kukis made it mos difficult to inflict on them such punishment as will bring ther senses."[23] The indiscriminate burning of the villages was nc a very significant threat to them. "They are seminomadi people, frequently shifting their villages. So burning of thei

huts means but little to them though they will feel greatly the damage done to their jhum and the killing of their cattles."[24] The sudden outbreak of the revolt among the Hakas in the Chin Hills area made the task more difficult.[25] The revolt of a pretender Sena Chouba Singh, against the then Manipur King added another dimension to the whole situation. The Kuki revolt also spread far and wide. In all, "the rebel villages held nearly 40,000 men, women and children interspersed among the loyal Kukis and Nagas over some 60,000 square miles of rugged hills surrounding the Manipur valley and extending to Somra Tract and the Thangdut states of Burma."[26] The difficulty of fighting with the Kukis was reported thus, "the actual casualties among the fighting men amount to 24 killed and 36 wounded while six men died of disease but these figures hardly illustrate the work of marching through a country where enemy may be larking anywhere and hardly ever is seen until he fires at short range."[27] In desperation, the British Government wrote, "it may be necessary to employ ... as the quickest way of bringing the rebels into sub... Kuki, after a time, indiscriminately plundered th... the Kabuis and the old Kukis like Chirus, Anals ... The victims of these raids were asked to settle ... areas.[29] The British officials ultimately chalked ... They divided the hill areas into various zon... detachments for each in which lines of post were to ... ed sufficiently strong to enable them to combine in a number of small handy columns with which to chase the rebels till they surrendered.[30] This plan became gradually successful. By the middle of 1919 all the leading chiefs, including Pase and Ngulkhup, were arrested. Sena Chouba Singh had been arrested much earlier.

It is also possible to get the details of the casualties. During the raids of 1918, the Kukis killed 289 men and women and burnt 34 villages. Among the members of the Assam Rifles 28 killed, 47 wounded and 84 died of disease contacted in the field.[31] The British destroyed 86 Thadoe villages and 15 had been deserted. In a nutshell, this is the outline of the story of the revolt.[32]

(*b*) *Some problems*

In this story of the revolt there are a few problems to be resolved. The rebellion was primarily organised and led by the Thadoes. All other tribes and clans remained loyal to the British. The Thadoes were the most important tribe among the new Kukis. "Among the new Kukis the most important tribe is that of the Thadoes."[33] The resolution of the Assam Government categorically states, "The Kuki uprising of 1917-1919, which is the most formidable, with which Assam has been faced for at least a generation, was confined almost entirely to the Thadoe Kukis, who, with few exceptions, were implicated."[34] This statement can be substantiated from other evidences also. Several villages of Vaite and Paite remained loyal to the government and supplied coolies to France.[35] There are countless references in the court-registers where the various villages of various clans supported the government and supplied coolies to France. One chief even asked the official to arrest his son who refused to go with the labour corps for war in France.[36] So it would be quite justified to call this uprising as the Thadoe War.[37] Now the problem is, why was this outbreak confined to the Thadoes? The second problem is that through which institutions the Thadoes mobilised themselves? As we shall see that the Thadoes always secured preferential treatment by the British and supplied coolies to army. Then why did they suddenly rebel? Finally, how far did this rebellion affect the relationship between the Thadoes and other ethnic groups in the surrounding valley and hills? The answer to all these questions would demand a rigorous analysis of all kinds of available sources.

II The Official Version

(*a*) *Labour corps recruitment and incorrect administrative policy*

The British official documents have viewed the Thadoe war as the outcome of two causes—(a) the recruitment for labour corps for warfare in France and (b) the wrong administrative approach.[38] "The proximate cause of the recent rebellion was

the attempt to recruit unwilling hill-men by a system of practical conscription to serve as labourers with the armies in France. The ultimate cause was the attempt made in the past to administer vast tracts of hills with a wholly inadequate stuff which resulted in British officers getting out of touch with the hill tribes."[39] It is quite clear that the Thadoes reacted vehemently against the recruitment of labour corps. The local conformed British officials argued that the custom of the State to recruit labourer from the hill areas. The higher authority justly pointed out that the custom was applicable only to the local demands but "not to service in Europe under military conditions."[40] But apart from these pure legal grounds, there were certain other constraints. Naturally the drainage of ablebodied persons for labour corps would create a crisis in the number of labourers needed for cultivation. There were various cases of objection based o this ground.[41] There was also a threat to the positio chiefs. On account of the insistence for the recru coolies, the people of the village fled overnight o village and the number of the houses dwindled. As the legal validity of the chiefships which required twenty houses under control, was in jeopardy. W khyam, chief of the Ngwar village, recruited his coolie villages, 17 houses out of 23 fled away in night.[42] The sim petitions received from Paokau, chief of Hengkil. 19 houses from his village fled.[43] There were, of course, a resistance for going to far off places.[44] At the same time it must be remembered that even in earlier period also, some of the chiefs refused to send coolies for the Mishmi expedition. Ngulkhup, the chief of Mombi, who played an important role in the rebellion, also declined to send any labour force during that expedition.[45] Hence there was lately a growing resistance on the part of the Thadoes to assist the government.

(*b*) *The role of the Lambus*

The official documents again put much emphasis on the role of the *lambus* in inciting the rebellion. The *lambus* were the local officials who maintained the links between the hill people

and the highest political authority.[46] Now the mismanagement of the labour recruitment was attributed to them. Mrs. Cole[47] "thinks that interpreters used when first endeavours were made to recruit in the Kuki country were to a large extent responsible for the trouble that they themselves did not want to be sent overseas as interpreters."[48] The imprisoned Kuki chiefs also blamed *lambus* for trouble. They fought with the government "on account of deceitful conduct of Manipuri lambus" who took money in order to excuse them from going to France and spread false rumours.[49] Reid also believed in the dubious role of the *lambus*.[50]

Now in assessing the role of the *lambus* certain factors remain to be considered. Though the *lambus* were at first sent to recruit coolies, there was also reference to direct talks between the chiefs and the Political Agent. Again it was through the same *lambus* that other clans of the Kukis sent their members as coolies. Among the *lambus*, there was not only Manipuris but also Kukis who had kinship relations, and for their own interest the latter would try their best to pacify the rebels.[51] It seems that the role of the *lambus* in inciting the war was much exaggerated because to the local officials and to the chiefs they were the most handy persons to be blamed.

(c) *Lack of proper administration*

The local officals also tried to explain the cause of the outbreak in terms of lack of administrative control. "The ultimate cause of the trouble lay in the fact owing to the vastness and inaccessibility of the country which they inhabit. The Kukis of Manipur State were out of touch with the administration and almost uncontrolled."[52] According to the law of 1908, the hill tribes were under the jurisdiction of the President of Darbar. Now it was impossible for a single officer to cover in his annual tour the whole of the 7000 square miles of mountainous country. He was totally dependent on the intermediary, known as petty Manipuri officers termed *lambus*. Thirdly, the responsibility of the President of Darbar during the times of war increased too much.[53]

Now, how far all these administrative inconveniences

may be considered as the cause of the war. Here we should distinguish between certain measures which might effectively check the outburst of the revolt, and the cause which might create a potential situation for the possibility of the revolt. The presence of a more centralised administration might have informed the government of the approaching trouble beforehand and might, for the time being, have prepared the government to meet the crisis more effectively. This was the point which Shakespear argued about the sudden outbreak among the Hakka Chins.[54] But how can lack of administrative control be considered as the cause of grievance against the British ? There is definite evidence to prove that the Kukis disliked the control of the government. As against the law of 1908 which place the Kukis under the jurisdiction of the President of Darbar,[55] there was massive migration of the Kukis to the Somra tract "with the object of escaping trammels of law and order." "These Kukis are all old subjects of Manipur State, and would return to their allegiance State or to the Government without much demur k they could not hope to compete with the power of State or of Government."[56] Thus the increased co Government would be a source of grievance thou have checked the particular outbreak. Thirdly, if control would have been accepted as a cause it did n why the Thadoes predominantly joined the rebellion and the others remained loyal. It seems that there were more long-standing causes than this mere administrative factor.

(d) An additional factor

Without citing any single evidence, Col. Shakespear was suspicious of the presence of the Bengali terrorist in this revolt whose instigation sparked off the uprising.[57] There is no single independent evidence to prove this theory.

(e) The Pothang or forced, labour as a cause behind the uprising

Again there was the custom of *Pothang*, *i.e*., obligation to carry the luggages without charge for the government officials travelling in the hill areas or free labour for making bridges

and roads.[58] There was a strong movement against it in the valley and it was abolished from the valley in 1918.[59] But the practice was continued in full force in the hill areas on the ground that the complete abolition of the forced labour was impracticable due to the problems of transport.[60] Thus the retention of *pothang* in the hill areas in contrast with its abolition in the valley may reasonably be considered as a cause behind the uprising. However, a study of cases before the rebellion and some years after it, points out an interesting development. In 1915-16, there were petitions made by the individuals to excuse them from *pothang* on account of various causes. But after 1923, there was continuous reports on a mass-scale refusal to abide by the rules of the *pothang*.[61] Again the demand for labour corps cannot be strictly considered in terms of *pothang* which may be a potential cause of grievance. But it was probably crystalised during the late twenties when a clear transition took place from making petition, to excuse, to direct refusal.[62]

(f) Famine and economic distress

Among the official documents, there was a reference to the negligence of the problems of welfare among the hill tribes. It was stated that "The tribesmen had contributed some Rs. 70,000 a year in the form house tax, but had received in return practically no benefits".[63] In the year 1916-17, the total receipt was Rs. 71,864 but the expenditure on his education and communication amounted only to Rs. 14,980.[64] Thus even less than one-fifth of the total revenue was expended on them. In 1915-16 the situation was similar.[65] This lack of relief measure was serious in the context of famine and flood that devastated the areas inhabited by the Kukis. From 1911 there was reference to "almost complete failure of the rice crop in the villages of five western hill tracts which are chiefly inhabited by the Kukis".[66] The distribution of rice was inadequate which accounted for migration of the Kukis towards the Lushai Hills. "Rice was more freely distributed in the Lushai Hills than in Manipur which accounts for exodus".[67] The famine continued till the year 1914-15.[68]

In 1916 flood brought another devastation and the price of rice continued to rise. "The price of rice rose to an abnormal height. The price of common rice rose to Rs. 14 per maund in May and Rs. 15 in August...The average price during August for five years was just Rs. 12 per maund ... Flood caused temporary distress in the several parts of the State".[69] But at this time the expenditure on relief measures in the hill was nil. It was not surprising that the south and south-western hills, affected by the famine, were also the areas of revolt.[70]

All these causes, in fact, explain the background of an atmosphere of general grievance against the British. But their description still does not solve the specific problems of the degree of participation, the problem of mobilisation and the problems of mutual relations among the various ethnic groups. To get an answer to these questions, we have to view the historical evolution of the Thadoes and the dynam[illegible] their internal organisation.

(g) The migration of the tribal and the [illegible] towards it

The migration of the new Kukis, especiall[illegible] towards the Manipur and Cachar area, roughly [illegible] the second great Kuki migration.[71] Round [illegible] they had been driven back by the powerful Lushai class. [illegible] Lister's account says : "It would appear that the tribes to the south have been gradually driving one another in a northernly direction...The Lushaye Kuki in November 1849 attacked them (the Thadoes), burnt three of their villages, killed several of inhabitants and took away several of them into slavery and then the whole of the Thadoes flitted, left the south and settled down in northern hills".[72] Apart from a search for new lands, the cause of such kinds of raid were presumably two-fold. First, a large number of deaths of the Lushaye chief whose cremation ceremony required the heads of the living men.[73]

Finally, perhaps the Lushaye had a great demand for muskets, which they could obtain from the Maghs in lieu of

slaves. Lister wrote, "the Lushaye are in habit of trading with the mugs in the neighbourhood of Chittagong, they bring down the captives and sell them as slaves receiving in return for each owner three muskets".[74]

In areas like Cachar and Manipur, the reaction of the British officials to the infiltration of this Thadoe Tribe has been well-documented. Col. Lister proposed to have a levy of the Kukis who would assist the army in the Lushaye expedition and would perpetually guard the frontier. The Judicial despatches referred to "Col. Lister's proposition for arming a few hundred Kookies in Cachar and placing them under an active officer and making over all condemned muskets of the Sylhet light infantry to the Superintendent of Cachar among frontier villages".[75] In fact Lister was assisted during his raids on the Lushaye villages by the Thadoes.[76] However, this policy of formation of the Kuki levy was more vigorously carried out by Col. McCulloch, the Political Agent in Manipur. "In the hills all around the valley and to the west beyond the Barak and the Mookreo are the Kookies over whom I exercise a general superintendence to prevent the oppression of the people, driven from their homes by the enemies in south The late Rajah of Manipur Nursingh made over the superintendence of all these tribes to me. This first arose from the proceedings in connection with them for the establishment of the line of village to the south of the Koupees... In connection with this people and as a protection to the south of the valley the Rajah and I established in the south villages of the Kookies, to whom are given arms and whom we call Sepoy villages. They are to be unrestricted in their cultivation and have sent scouts to watch the tribes at season".[77]

Thus the policy of the officials at Manipur was to settle the warlike New Kukis among the Kabuis and to use them for maintenance of law and order. In fact to depend on the Kukis against other tribes, especially against the Nagas, was a cornerstone in the policy of the government.[78] Thus the Kukis, particularly the new, were regarded as an appendage to the British regular army.[79] Col. Johnstone wrote during

.870 "seeing that the Kukis had been driven north by :indred but more powerful tribes and their first object was .o secure land for cultivation, McCulloch settled them down, allotting to them lands in different places according to their numbers and where their presents would be useful on the exposed frontier. He advanced them large sums from his own pocket assigning different duties to each chief's followers. Some were made into irregular troops".[80] In the areas of Cachar, the Kukis were allowed to hold rent-free land for ten years and afterwards for 25 years.[81]

In the attack on Phesama Johnstone was assisted by 1000 to 1200 irregular Kuki soldiers.[82] References are also available to the duties of policing the frontier performed by the Thadoes.[83]

Out of this policy two significant developments took place. First, the Thadoe Kukis, due to their connection with the army, were militarily much stronger than other tribes and they maintained a comparative advantage for manoeuvre with the British. It may be well asked why the British choc :ularly this tribe as their helpers. The British G. always preferred any tribal organisation led by tl. a democratic organisation, probably because it w. control them through the chiefs.[83a] With the Th. was precisely the case. "It was their organisation them superior to the Nagas".[84] Street wrote (Thangkhuls) have no influential chiefs such as the Kuki have, through whom they can be approached".[85] As the Thadoes possessed fire-arms, they were probably much stronger than their neighbouring tribes for the purpose of being used as irregulars.

However this may be, the Thadoes, due to their services to the State, enjoyed a special position. As Hutton wrote "The Thado, ruled as they are by their own well recognised chiefs and treated as they had been in the past at any rate, by the Manipur State as allies as much as subjects, managed their own affairs in their own way and had recourse to the courts only in exceptional cases."[86] The treatment of the Thadoes as allies has left a deep influence on the tribal mind.[87] Hence any dis-

crepancy in British norms of behaviour towards the chiefs could result in a violent reaction. Secondly, British support for the new Kuki settlements created an area of tension in the tribal world of Manipur. The Kukis, (possessing of firearms and encouraged by the British) in course of migration, captured lands and villages occupied by the Kabuis and the Kacha Nagas. Edgar referred to Kadinmang, chief of the Thadoes who led them to Manipur and destroyed the Kacha Naga villages.[88] Hadson wrote, "The Kabui Nagas are now restricted to the hills immediately north of Kachar road. There is ample evidence historical and traditional, to show that their expulsions from the hills to the south is comparatively recent. I have stumbled across ruins of large villages in the jungle south of Nongba and learnt that they were ruins of the Kabui villages...that had been destroyed by the Kukis...... There are small villages of Kabuis in the valley of Manipur, which are in a semi-servile condition".[89] All these historical developments would play a due role in the Kuki uprising.

III The Tribal Organisation of the Thadoes

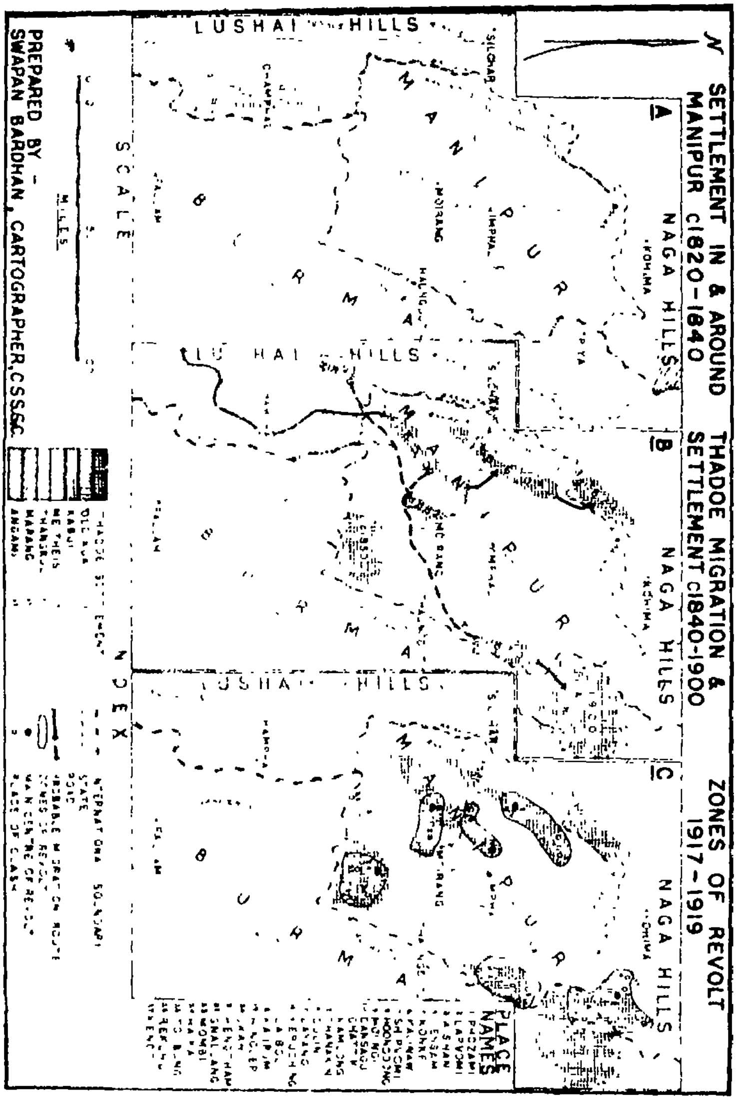
(a) Chieftainship

The tribal organisation of the new Kukis *alias* the Thadoes was quite distinct from that of the old Kukis and the Kabuis. Anthropologists have contrasted two ideal type of organisation throughout the Burma-Assam frontier. One is gumsa, *i.e*, an organisation led by the chief and having hereditary class difference. The other as *gumlao*, which repesented republican organisation.[90] The organisation of the New Kukis may be included within the category of *gumsa* whereas the organisation of the Kabuis and old Kukis belong to the category of *gumlao*. "The old Kookies are democratic communities with very doubtful traces of having been organised under the chiefs. The New Kookies are subject to the chiefs whose families are regarded as almost sacred and whose power is limited by the possibility of a malcontent transferring his allegiance to a more popular chief of the same or some other semi-divine race".[91] The four clans of the Thadoes were divided into separate *Rajahdoms* of greater

or lesser powers. The office was adorned by a hereditary chief. He had certain dues from his fellow members. He was succeeded by his eldest son.[92] McCulloch wrote "the eldest son on his marriage remains with his father. A younger son has a part of his father's subjects and sets up for himself".[93] He was assisted by a group of ministers called Thusois in his daily business. However, among the Thadoes there were different types of chiefs. There were some chiefs who had an ancient lineage and there were some who were so-called upstart chiefs. The former, though being weak, might have exercised some influence.[94]

The more useful division for our purpose is clan-chief, and territorial chief. The first is called *pipa* chief by clan and the second is called *housha* or chief by village.[95] Hutton also characterised the Thado polity in these terms "in polity, in having an elaborate system of chiefs, each owing a theoretical allegiance to representative of senior branch from which he sprang up to lineal tative of the original ancestor of tribe".[96] This hinted in the account of the Thadoes given Mongpilal, a territorial chief, during distress, ap Toosingh, the head chief of all the Thadoes. St referred to the growth of territorial chiefs in this lang splitting up of the communities generally leads a div interests and should the Thusoi be a popular and ambitious man he sometimes succeeds in throwing up the authority of the Rajah and establishing a dynasty of its own."[97] Edger also gave a graphic picture. To the Thadoes "the formation of tea-gardens on unoccupied grounds by the Europeans appear to them analogous to the formation of the new villages". The planters were regarded as dependent on great central chief rather than subject to him. They also visualised that planter could make his garden independent "or even grow so powerful as to change place with great chief of the district and reduce him to dependence". This picture of plantation of Cachar in the mind of the new Kukis approximated to their actual political structure because "the Kookies...seem to be unable to conceive of any political system differing in essence from,

their own".[98] The British Government also accepted this division between territorial and clan chiefs.[99] They



referred to some Donglam "who was not originally a chief. He was at first considered as headman of matchet...afterwards

he was given a separate patta".[100] They also referred to Enkhoving who was not a hereditary chief; when Damhao the clan chief left the village and returned to Chin Hills, Enkhoving was installed at his place.[101] In the statistical table on the villages around Mombi, there was a clear distinction between principal chief and many resident chiefs, who paid tribute to the principal chief.[102] Due to the mode of production, the man who choose new site for cultivation and who established a village was generally considered as a chief of that new village. Thus out of the above picture three distinct facts emerge. First, the tribal organisation of the Kukis centered round the chiefs who were quite powerful and exercised an amount of power over the Thadoes and secured a number of dues. The clue to their organisation lay in chieftainship. Secondly, among the Thadoes there was no custom of ultimogeniture[103] and as such their *gumsa* society was much more authoritarian than that of Kachin tribe. Consistent w[illegible] *gumsa* organisation, the political structure of the [illegible] involved a hierarchy of authority. There were a [illegible] tensions among the various kinds of chiefs, particularly the clan chiefs and territorial chiefs. Thirdly, d[illegible] rigorous *gumsa* organisation, the new Kukis are certa[illegible] cohesive than their counterparts,—old Kukis as well [illegible] Kabuis because the latter tribes were more democratic, mainly led by elective heads confined to small isolated settlements.[104]

(h) The mode of production practised by the New Kukis and its migratory habit

One of the chief characteristics of the new Kukis, more especially of the Thadoes, was the essential habit of migration due to their mode of cultivation and due to organisation of chieftainship. This habit of migration existed from earlier times. Lister wrote, "almost all other Kookee [in contrast with the Lushaye] tribes are migratory in their habits, changing their residence every two or three years".[105] Mr. Edger also noted it. He wrote, "the whole villages with their chiefs occasionally move from one jurisdiction to another, or leave the districts for tracts outside".[106] Hodson also wrote in a later

time, "we are like the birds of the air' said a Kuki to me once 'We make our nests here this year and who knows where we shall build next year".[107] First, this kind of migratory habit was connected with the mode of production. It was a kind of *Jhum* cultivation—burning and slashing method. But with this type of cultivation, they accepted migration as a means to raise the superior quality of produce. "The rice raised by the Kookees, indeed their whole of agricultural produce is of much superior quality to that of the Cacharries and the Nagas, which may be owing to their not tasking the soil to some extent but abandoning it after the first and second crop".[108]

Another report in a later period informs "The kind grown by the Kukis is remarkably fine and nutricious, no doubt due to their systems of Jhum cultivation the crop being taken year after year off virgin soil".[109] Now this type of cultivation involves certain problems. First, the carrying capacity for the jhum is very limited.[110] Hence, if there is any increase in population within a village, there is every possibility that the increased population would leave the village and would form a new one. In an areas like Manipur already inhabited by other tribes, procurement of new virgin soil was also difficult. In fact in the areas of Tripura and Cachar, the Kukis were faced with this kind of problem much earlier.[111] The only possible course for the few expanding Kuki clans was to migrate towards Somra Tract or to over-tax the cultivated areas which would affect the quality of production adversely. Apart from political reasons,[111a] the sudden migration of the Chassads to the Somra may be explained in this context. The general Kuki law of inheritance permitting the younger sons to form new villages can also be partly meaningful if we consider the limited nature of the 'Jhum' cultivation. But there was also another need—need for power and authority. As it has been reported, "The chief may be wanting in qualifications and there may be many of other families superior in ability. Unless he is physically or mentally quite unfit for his position, there is no danger of his being supplanted".[112] Within this inflexible system the only way out either for the subjects oppressed by the chief or for any

person of consequence who was dissatisfied with the chief was the right to migrate and to establish another village after the payment of certain dues. The opportunity to form a new village was a way to protest against the chief, a kind of escape from the control of the unpopular chief, and also a ladder for ambitious persons to attain the position of chief. It was a political safety-valve through which a custom left a scope for own expression of grievances and thus stabilised its own institution of chieftainship. Migration among the Kukis inhibited a thorough going protest movement against the office of chieftainship. Instead by multiplying the number of different kinds of chiefs, it underlined the essential necessity and sanctity of the office.[113]

Many evidences can be put forward to substantiate our theory. McCulloch thought it as a way to escape from oppressive chiefs. He wrote "their Rajas have certainly a good de[al] of power, which is at times misused but generally ... under the necessity of exercising it as not to off[end] villagers or by offending them run the chance of bein[g] ... by them".[114] Edger also wrote that the power of t[he] ... was limited by the constraint that the subjects mig[ht] ... him and shift allegiance to another chief in anot[her] village.[115] Apart from this, there was the problem of ambiti[on]. Among the Thadoes, the younger son generally went in search of a new village.[116] Stewart wrote that the splitting of communities may be attributed to the ambition of Thusoi and "the greatest trouble is therefore taken to keep the whole together as much as possible."[117] The British officials from Burma observed a similar phenomenon. There the Kuki chief in order to avoid trouble, allowed his relatives to establish new villages and secured a nominal tax to the chief in recognition of his overlordship.[118] Shaw also reported this in the context of the migratory habit of the Thadoes. Shaw wrote, "Persons who are not related to the chiefs are to be seen as heads of the villages just because they have some wealth behind him and are, in consequence, able to get some ready followers."[119]

Tiny villages and continuous fragmentation of the village were numerous among the Thadoes. Hutton mentioned "his

(Thodoes) habit of splitting up his villages into scattered hamlets or two or three houses in the jungle so that this year villages are never where you expected to find them".[120] Dalton also referred to the continuous fragmentation of the new Kuki villages as a noticeable feature.[121] The formation of these new villages, apart from the exigencies of cultivation, can be attributed to disputes over power. In a Chassad village there was a struggle between the chief and his Mantree and Yambrew the Kuki formed new village at Lakhan.[122] This has also been illustrated by the case of an important Haokip Kuki village at Manipur called Chassad. Its original chief was Tonghu. But in due course and due to the desire of many ambitious youths "this village threw off offshoots". A nephew of Tonghu, named Hawaklip became the chief of a village at the Thangdut State. Another nephew Pase' occupied the areas of southern branch of the Nankha stream and a Kinsman named Komyang settled in the upper drainage of the river.[123] All of these were recognised as chiefs and played important role in the uprising.

Individual chiefs did not necessarily like to separate their villages. The chiefs having a long lineage had also been respected by the chiefs of the new village.[124] Finally the newly established villages often took the name of original mother village with a suffix *Khunow* which meant small. By this a continuity with the past had been maintained.[125] Thus migration played an important role both at the level of production and political superstructure of the new Kukis especially, the Thadoes, who lived predominantly at Manipur. Again on a superstructural level migration had a greater relevance to the new Kukis because of its organisation dominated by the chiefs. In this rigid set-up migration, in the short run, by providing opportunities to ambitious men for becoming chiefs, created a disturbing element in the life of the community. But in the long run it created a new cohesion around a new chief and at the same time through certain customs maintained intact the institution of chieftainship. Thus any cessation of this process would result in a total convulsion of the political system.

It should be here stressed that in this political system everybody was integrated. To the Thadoe mind as evident from

the references cited earlier, the chieftainship was an immutable organisation under given conditions. Due to this migratory habit, a leader was necessary in making the choice of land and in fighting with other tribes which was frequent in the process of occupation of new lands. The British, for their own interest, strengthened the position of the chiefs who maintained a link between the other members of the clan and the British administration. There were also various functions of the chief in the time of ceremonies. Again, the formation of the new villages was essential for the interest of the ordinary members of the clans because it was a safe-guard against undue oppression by the chiefs and a way to move upward. Thus the mutual relationship between the chiefs and other members of the clan was necessary for existence of the tribal life under the given conditions.[128a]

Finally this proneness to migration would create trouble in the Manipur tribal world, particularly for those who lived in a permanent village. The Kabui Nagas characteristicall- to a place generation after generation because of tl- ment to the ancestral graveyard.[136] As a result, their closest neighbours, would naturally fall property. Vickers has explained it categorically "t of the Kuki village community is to wander... Th and wandering method brings them into the perpetu... with their neighbours on whom they perpetually encroach. How far these moving settlements by Haokip and Chassad clans created troubles for the established settlements can be gauged by the official reports on Kuki migration to the Somra tract. This tract was, before 1894, occupied by the Tangkul Nagas whose chief village was Piya.[138]

The official report said "The eastern slopes of the range occupied by the chins in Manipur called by the Shan Burmans Khongsai and by the Manipur officials Kuki... They have been coming in gradually from Manipur in last five years or more... Last year there were only two considerable villages left which had not come more or less under Kownyang's [Chassad chief] power."[139] How the established settlements were treated by the Thadoes has also been described : "supported by

Haukupao [Haokip chief] these new settlements existed on exactions of rice, pigs, fowls, and mithun levied on villages of Phozanaguam, phozanasami, Phatsimi and Karami."[130] There were also continuous protest of the Tangkhul Nagas against the encroachment of the Kukis on their property.[131] The Burmese government referred to the Kuki-Naga relation in these terms—"the Nagas whom they dominate wherever they go."[132] The new Kukis' migratory habit seemed to be a source of tension in the tribal world of Manipur and upper Burma.

(c) *Tribal organisation, the British policy and the revolt*

Thus the explanation of the uprising can be fully grasped, in the context of the Thado tribal organisation having its twin characteristics in chiefship and migration.

The fundamental cause of the rebellion seemed to be connected with the migratory habits of the Thadoe village. It was a consistent policy of the British to oppose fragmentation of the villages and to stop migration[133]. In Manipur, this policy was vigorously implemented after 1911. Before that it seems that there was not much restriction on their movements. The migration of the Chassad tribe, the migration of the Soote Kooks and finally a large scale migration of the Kooks to Burma region around 1900 might be due to a laxity in policy[134]. The Government in the year 1913 announced "much inconvenience in connection and general administration is invariably caused by the prevalance of small Kuki villages. To remedy this all Kuki villages less than ten houses have been ordered to join larger villages with the alternative of assessment of Rs. 6 per house until they do and the adoption of coercive measure was urged if it fails[135]. Again this problem of migration caused trouble to the British administrators. Shaw wrote, "His (The Thadoe's) inclination to form small villages anywhere and everywhere with no respects of other's lands is a source of trouble administratively".[136] As late as 1930 the same problem persisted. "The Kukis were as usual one of the most law abiding tribes but even their desire to wander and form small villages still remains difficult to check[137]. Thus the first decision to check Kuki migration and to stop the

formation of the new villages, which arise out of the British desire to have more control over the Kukis and also to safeguard, to some extent, the Kabuis' interest led to a total convulsion among the new Kukis, especially, among the Thadoes. A glance into the Miscellaneous Register would show a number of cases about the formation of new villages, in the years prior to the Kuki uprising[138]. All these cases were a proof of the grievances of the Kuki chiefs (most of the cases had been fought with the chief) against the British. It was quite natural. The bar against migration and formation of the new villages would hit the Thadoes hard, because it almost threatened the existing mode of production and political organisation. Not only had the system of cultivation been hampered but the 'safety valve' for the functioning of political authority had also been destroyed. Thadoe society reacted sharply.

IV. Specific causes of the Thadoe uprising

(a) Three corollaries of tribal structure

There were three corollary effects which explained the mass participation in the revolt. The amalgamation of villages meant tension over power among various kin chiefs. Due to the amalgamation of the village territorial chiefs would be relegated to a direct subordinate position to the clan chiefs of the big village and they would create trouble for lost power in established community. There is a reference to a trouble for the chiefship over an amalgated village between Hoojangul Kuki and Paneehung Kuki[139]. Even now, the contemporary Kuki village is faced with the same kind of problems[140].

The second problem is hinted by Stewart, "It says a great deal for the loyalty of the Kookies that they still submit to those exactions (dues of the chiefs) without grumbling paying at the same time the full amount of their house tax to our Government"[141]. The new Kukis ; in our case, the Thadoes, were subject to two kinds of exactions—one made by the chiefs and other made by the British Government. It may have been that a British increase in the house tax to stop migration would create trouble for chiefs' exactions since the burden would be

too heavy for the ordinary clan members. Two types of circumstantial evidences could be put forward. It was the leading chiefs like Pase of Chassad, Ngulkhup of Mombi, Pakhang, the chief of Hinglep and Cheng Japao, chief of Aisan who participated in the rebellion, and led it. Their dues were naturally highest. The written sources also referred to the increase in taxation as a cause of rebellion. Vickers mentioned this[142]. The petition of the chiefs to the Government also protested against an increase in the house tax[143]. Thus the Thadoes, chiefs would also be concerned about paying house tax at an increasing rate in order to form new villages.

The third specific problem was concerned with the 'jhum' cultivation. If a village was forced to join with another big village, it was possible that there would be a tremendous pressure on the limited food output produced by that particular big village[144]. The increase in population and disturbance in land-man ration may be a cause behind fragmentation. The stoppage of that process and the force used on the Thadoes to join certain old villages which would already depended for its food on their ecological balance would immediately result in a tremendous food crisis for them. Again, the resident chiefs, if they were forced to join with the mother village, would not pay tribute to the principal chief. It might involve the loss of a source of income to the leading chiefs.

There was also a personal element in the Thadoes uprising. Pase, the chief of Chassad and the overlord of Haokip clan, had a grievance against the British since he had been thwarted in his bid for chieftainship of the Chassads in Somra Tract. The Burmese Government supported Tonglun, another chief[145]. He could lead the rebels in the Somra Tract, since his father and his cousin responded from clan fidelity to his anti-British call[146].

(b) *The rebellion and other ethnic groups*

(i) The Meitheis : There were two other distinct streams in the Thadoe uprising. Intra-dynastic trouble had been a recurrent theme in the history of the Meitheis[147]. The similar trouble

led to a merger with the Kuki Movement. Sena Chouba Singh, a Manipuri claimant to the throne, announced himself as a possessor of magical powers and promised many concessions to the rebel Kukis, such as reduction in the house tax provided he became Maharaja[148]. His early arrest cut this role short. However, he had been a focal point of linkage at the first stage of rebellion between the Manipuris and the rebel Kukis. "It is said that some leading men in the big Manipuri village Mairang are disaffected towards His Highness Maharajah and have found unauthorised courts for themselves... These Mairang Manipuris are in close touch with Manipur Pretender Sena Chouba Singh"[149]. Again it has been said that "the Kukis are in touch with some sections of the Manipuris themselves and certain villages of lois have contributed rice and rice-beer to the Kukis[150]. At least at the initial stage, due to the role of Sena Chouba Singh, a secti of the Meitheis went over to the side of the Kukis.

(ii) The Kabuis : There was also an inter-triba' The rebel Kukis, after some time, severely the Kabui Naga villages[151]. After March systematic pillage had been started over th villages. The Kukis under the leadership of the chief of Layang "declared war on the Kabui Nagas as a whole because the Kabui Nagas of Akhui raided and burnt of his hamlet called Natjang"[152]. The causes of such raids were various, "revenge for grudges of old standing" or because "the villages had refused to help the rebels and were suspected of having held the expeditionary columns"[153]. At the same time it must be mentioned that though the Kabuis had borne the main burnt of the attack the village of other tribes including the old Kukis were also raided[154]. Behind all these raids there was an imperative need for provision for the rebels because their base villages were burnt and destroyed.

(iii) The Hakka Chins : The problem involving the link between the tribal revolt in Manipur and that in the Chin area was a tricky one. One official document argues, "Although it is possible that the initial success of a similar rebellion among the Hakka Chins in

the Chin Hill districts of Burma may have encouraged the rebellious Kuki chiefs in Manipur to break into active rebellion, I have not been able to obtain any evidence to support such a theory; and the part of the Chin Hills where a rebellion broke out, namely, Hakka sub-division, is farthest south of the three sub-divisions of the Chin Hills with which the Manipuri Kukis have most connection would seem to show that there is little connection, if any, between the Kuki rebellion in Manipur and the rising of Hakka Chins"[155]. It is not possible to say anything very definitive on the subject. It is certain that the Hakka uprising which broke out in early 1918 was not due to the Kuki uprising. But whether the Hakka Chin owed something to the Kuki rebellion is difficult to say. The Burmese Government indeed thought so. They wrote, "It is clear that the disturbances had their origins in apprehensions prevailing among the Kukis in Manipur regarding recruiting and in the machinations of Pase, overlord of Haokip clan, who had become embroiled with the Manipur State Darbar"[156]. The distance was not a great problem.

The Kukis had a very ingenious system of spreading news which was very effective in this area. The message consisted of burnt wood, a chilli, a bullet, gun-powder and a Kuki ear-lead each signifying some kind of instruction. The message was circulated throughout the Somra—Chin area. "Every village passed on the instructions for secrecy, in some cases after consulting the whole village in other on the initiative of gao-bura. In one case, the Chaukidar of the Inspection Bungalow was used to carry the message"[157]. So geographical distance was not such a bar and the Somra Tract, part of which was under Surma Valley Administration, was also a hotbed of trouble. Again as far the knowledge goes, the rebellion of the Hakkas was also partially due to the forced labour recruitment[158]. The relationship between the Kuki and Hakka uprisings may not be so casual as it used to appear. Due to the inadequate knowledge at our present stage of knowledge, it is not possible to say anything certain on this point. But to view the Hakka tribal uprising as a part of the general

movement of this area, cutting across the political boundaries may be a step towards a right direction.

V. Some Tentative Conclusions

It appears therefore that the British version of the causes of the Thadoe uprising is not sufficient, to explain many problems. However the labour recruitment, which is said to be the ostensible cause for the uprising, did have an important role, in so far it ignited all the accumulated grievances of the Thadoe chiefs and community. But other basic causes of the revolt go back for some years : the labour recruitment decided the timing of the outbreak.

The British ban on formation of new villages had jeopardised the existence of the tribal structure of the Thadoes on various levels. The administrative indifference during famine and probably a feeling of resentment against the ***pothang*** may be a contributory factor to this accumulated grievances. To this the demand for forced labour acted as a catalyst.

It appears that the so-called Kuki uprising was the out· of three distinct forces—anti-British, intra-tribal, and dynastic. So far as the first force was concerned, it defensive in nature, a response to British imperial policy two other forces were of a different nature. To an establ ruler a pretender's claim was certainly an offensive demand. the Kabuis and other tribes, the raids of the Thadoes, who had long dominated them, could not be called as defensive rather than a long series of offensive encroachment. Though there is a considerable veneer of defensive position in the war, it has been accompanied by two sub-ordinate, but not unimportant, offensive approaches The Furer Haimendorf model of 'defensive primitive uprising' will not pass muster for the Thadoes in 1917.

At one level, this tribal movement equated itself with the grievances of a part of an agriculturalist settled community—the Meitheis. On an another level, it disassociated itself from other tribal communities. Perhaps, the Thadoe sense of solidarity with the Meitheis, grew even more than the specific role of Sena Chouba Singh from a historical tradition of considering

themselves as allies of Manipuri ruling class, a kind of belonging arising out of desire to oppress other non-privileged tribes[159]. Long standing friction between the Thadoes and the Kabuis inhibited any kind of joint endeavour ; for which the British policy of using the Thadoes as a pawn in the imperial chess-board was largely responsible. The organisational difference was also a bar.

Organisationally, in the Thadoe uprising, the traditional structure of tribal chiefship came into full play. In fact, it was the confederation of the chiefs at Jampi that formed the core of the rebellion[160]. Again, it was mainly the chiefs who decided whether a village would join the rebellion or not. Two cases would illustrate the point. The village Lalon, despite being long dominated by the Gangte, decided to join the rebellion, because of its temporary chief Chungitpao, who was a Haokip ; when the clan chief Pao Jam I returned, all the members of the village supported the British due to his influence[161]. Another village was Khengyang, whose chief was Haokip Haokholen[162]. Despite the fact that Pakhang, the rebel 'pipa' or clan chief was previously an inhabitant of the village, the village remained friendly due to the insistence of Hookholen. The ban to form new villages in fact challenged the validity of the political system of chiefship ; hence their reaction was more sharp. At the same time, the chiefs had a mass-following, whose wrath was certainly ignited by forced labour recruitment. Chiefs of all categories participated because interest of all of them suffered The territorial chiefs were relegated to ordinary clan members in the new village whereas the clan chiefs were faced with opposition from the disgruntled ex-chiefs and put under a tremendous pressure because law of inheritance could not operate smoothly under this system.

The uprising was secular in character and remained more or less limited to the Thadoes. Tribal organisation had much to do with this. Having no organisation of the chiefship, the old Kukis or the Kabuis did not face similar kinds of problem which the Thadoes did in face of a ban against migration. Again having a cohesive well-knit organisation, the chiefs could rally the followers in a comparative easy manner. The

closely-knit chiefship provided the necessary organisation for unified action. The "integratory role of the millenium cult"[163] was not so essential for them as the only focal point for mobilising the followers.

On a superficial level, it may be argued that as the main inspiration for the rebellion lay in the interest of the most powerful group within the Thadoe Community, it was reformist in outlook, primitive in nature. The war was meant to preserve the condition in which the political structure and economic basis of the chiefship might survive. Their support for Sena Chouba Singh shows that they would support a dynastic change which would ensure a preferential treatment for them. But on a broader level, this war was a fight for the maintenance of the tribal existence because the whole structure was dependent upon the certain essential functions of the chief. Again, apart from the stakes of every member of the clan in maintaining that organisation, the ordinary members of a vill[illegible] were faced with a food crisis. Hence the attack on chie[illegible] ship in fact resulted in a crisis which engulfed the memb[illegible] the whole Thadoe clan. Moreover, the protest against inc[illegible] in house tax and against forced recruitment, gives the mov[illegible] a further kind of plebian content. Yet it had no new v[illegible] and posited no new order. In comparison with similar ev[illegible] in African history, the movement fits generally into the category of the Mokambe uprising[164] rather than into the category of the Chilembawa uprising[165].

We may, however, here introduce the concept of 'just war' and 'unjust war'. The right to decide its own fate lies in hand of the tribe itself. No external power, however, well intentioned and mighty it may be, has any right to intervene in its internal affairs. The fight by the Thadoes for the preservation of its own structure may be characterised as the "just war". Here the whole conception of the "primitive" seems to be irrelevant.

The study of the Thadoe uprising is a pointer to a significant fact that external pressure can operate only through internal structure. At which functure and what form, the tribal people will revolt, depends on its organisation. To view the movements in terms of challenge and response may obscure

certain important points about the intensity, form and nature of participation in any movement against imperialism. Following the Marxist school our French anthropologists, we should be outcautious about our conception of primitive tribal society "which is often confused with placid and simple society"[106]. Only through an understanding of the organisation of so-called tribal society can the nature and outbreak of any tribal movement against imperialism be properly understood.

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Appendix A

A note on the sources

Materials on the Kuki rebellion are quite impressive. The foreign records under Foreign and Political Department contain detailed reports on the rebellion. Due to the transfer of capital, it has not been possible for me to consult the records preserved at the Assam Secretariat. However by persuing Amalgamated Index, it appears that 'A' proceedings are the duplicate copies of those preserved at National Archives, though there are a number of 'B' proceedings on many additional items. Administrative reports on Manipur sent annually by the Political Agent are a kind of annual survey reports. Manipur Darbar proceedings relate to the affairs at the Valley mainly. Another valuable set of records are the petitions made by various persons and orders passed on them, which are embodied in various registers and preserved at D. C.'s Court, Imphal. These registers are divided into three sections—Civil, Criminal and Miscellaneous. It presents vignettes on the inner life and politics of the Kuki villages. A boundary

register containing the list of the Kuki villages, and their specific role during the rebellion has been preserved at the same court. The rebels' version may be secured from the interviews and the pamphlets of the Kuki National Assembly. Regarding newspapers published from Calcutta, Shakespear, more or less accurately, said that they published "erroneous and short accounts." (*Assam Rifles* p. 235). The accounts, left by the ethnographers and the British officials, are an important supplementary source. The *Administrative Report on Chin Hills* contains incidental references to the Manipur-Burma border area, and thus throws light on the Kukis. The chronicles in Manipuri language seem to be worthless because the historical sense of the compilers is very poor and without making any distinction, they have used the term Hao to denote any kind of tribe. Finally, despite all my efforts, I have failed to procure two important books—J. West and C. B. Little—*Gazetteer of Manipur*, 1884—and F. K. Lehman—*The Structure of the Chin Society*, Illionois, 1963.

Appendix B

A note on the maps

I

Sources

1. The first map has been drawn mainly from legends which closely approximate to the later developments. The source is Shakespear—*The Lushei-Kuki Clans, op. cit.*, Chapter 1.
2. The second map has been drawn from documentary evidences and various reports such as (a) ARM, 1868-69, p. 92-101 *ARC* 1908-1909, G. Brown—*Upper Chindwin District*, Rangoon, 1913, p. 25. (b) Mackenzie, *op. cit.* (c) Bengal Judicial Proceedings 1849-50. (d) Shakespear, *op. cit.* (e) Watt, *op. cit.* (f) Stewart, *op. cit.* (g) Godwin-Austen, *op. cit* etc. To these may be added the map drawn by J. Shakespear on the settlement of the Kukis in and around Manipur during the year 1910, and the map of the Somra Tract attached to the Gazetteer of *Upper Chindwin District, 1913.*
3. The source for third map is two-fold—(a) the map drawn by Shakespear of the Military operations during the Kuki

uprising attached to his book, *Assam Rifles* and (b) FPD Secret-I, 1920, Pro. No. 4. The zones of the revolt have been divided according to the spatial distribution of important rebel villages.

II

Cartographic Note--The procedure here adopted is rather simple. The base map is that of Assam, published by Assam Survey, 3rd Edition, 1964 [Scale : 1 inch to 16 miles]. Then the places have been plotted in accordance with the sources. The aim is to show major clusters of settlements only; the minor clusters have been omitted. Thus these maps are national in character. Again the boundary line has been drawn according to modern territorial division because my analysis has little to do with the territorial demarcation. The migration route has been drawn approximately in accordance with topographical situation. Apart from the paucity of the sources, there are other difficulties. As there were very frequent changes of the village sites and as many villages were burnt as a retaliatory measure, it is really difficult to have an accurate and complete picture. The members of the Geography Department, CSSSC, have prepared the maps.

FOOTNOTES

1. R. Reid *History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam*, Shillong, 1942, p. 79.
2. J. Roy--*History of Manipur*, Calcutta, 1973, pp. 138-139. The author, even within this one and a half page, has merely plagiarised the version given by Lt. Col. L. W. Shakespear in his *History of Assam Rifles*, London, 1929. Lal Dena, 'British policy towards Manipur,' 1891-1919, unpublished M. Phil Thesis, Nehru University, 1973. A somewhat detailed account of the Kuki rebellion has formed a substantial portion of his thesis (pp. 47-56). His source is, however, limited to the materials at the National Archives and he has also devoted more space to the course of events than to its origin and nature.
3. For a bibliographical note, *see* Appendix A. Abbreviations used : ARC—*Administrative Report*, Chin Hills

ARM—*Administrative Report*, Manipur. BR—Register for subdivisional boundary between south-west and north-west division, 1924, (preserved at D. C.'s Court, Imphal) FPD—Proceeding, Foreign and Political Department (perserved at the National Archives). MDP—Manipur Darbar Proceedings. Misc.—Miscellaneous Case Register. (D. C.'s Court, Imphal).

4. Christor von Fürer Haimendorf—"Aboriginal rebellions in Deccan." *Man in India*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 1945, p. 208.

5. Cf. Jagadish Jha—*The Kol Insurrection of Chottanagpur*, Calcutta, 1964, p. 130.

6. According to the philosophy of dialectical materialism external forces can be operative only through internal organisation and perceptive scholars on the tribal movements against imperialism in Africa have focussed on this obvious but neglected aspect of the rebellion. To them, the organisation and the precise nature of the movement can be explained in terms of the structure of the [illegible] society, economy and its internal strains and str[illegible] For example, John Iliffe writes on Maji Maji upris[illegible] these terms. "If on one level, the great African rebe[illegible] against the colonial rule can be traced to administ[illegible] abuses, equal or greater abuses existed in other areas [illegible] only small-scale unrest occurred. The explain a rebellio[illegible] causes alone are not sufficient, the organisational possibility must be demonstrated.' John Iliffe—"The organisation of the Maji Maji Rebellion," *Journal of African History*, 1967, VIII, 3, p. 501. T. O. Ranger also pointed out the same fact. The Mocambe rising of 1917 "was as much due to the greater strength there of traditional institutions as to the special grievances of Wabanwe." T. O. Ranger, "Revolt in Portugese East Africa," *African Affairs*, Number 2, Ed. by K. Kirwood, London, 1963, p. 65.

7. H. B. Rowney—*The Wild Tribes of India*, London, 1882, pp. 179-180. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, Eastern Bengal and Assam, Calcutta, 1909, p. 618. B N. Sahay—'The Kukis of Manipur,' *Vanyajati*, Vol. 12. 1964, p. 173. The term *Kuki* has been given to them by the

Bengalis. They have been scattered throughout Chittagong, Sylhet and Manipur. But the recent census uses term *Kuki* only in Manipur probably because Manipur is the greatest stronghold of the Kukis. In 1945, 72% of the total Kuki population of Assam and Bengal lived in Manipur. T. C. Das—*The Purums*, Calcutta, 1945, p. 19.

8. B. S. Carey and H. N. Tuck, *Chin Hills*, Vol. 1, Rangoon, 1896, p. 135.
9 J. Shakespear—*The Lushai-Kuki Clan*, London 1912, Chapter 1st. Sec. 3. T. C. Das—*op. cit.*, p. 271.
10. G. A Grierson—*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, part III, Calcutta, 1904, p. 2 and p. 9.
11. Grierson—*ibid*, Shakespear, *op cit*, pp. 191-193, T. C. Das *op. cit.*, p. 19. The local writers have generally used the spelling "Thadou".
12. Shakespear, *ibid*, p. 191. Hutton's introduction to W. Shaw's book--*Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, Assam Government Publication, 1929, p. 2.
13. In the royal chronicles, the *Kukis* are mentionod in connection with the war efforts of the king of Tripura at various occasions during the Mughal time. But it is difficult to know their precise clan name. Suprakash Roy—*Bharater Krisok Vidroha O Ganatantrik Sangram*, Calcutta, 1972, pp. 252-253. T. C. Das—*op. cit.*, p. 6. The first mention to the Thadoes in the chronicle of Manipur occurred around 1787. Shakespear, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
14. FPD, INT - 'B', Oct., 1917, Pro. No. 126-145.
15. Letter to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, No. 2396, 31st Oct., 1916, FPD, INT-B, Pro No. 17.
16. B. C. Allen to the Secretary to Govt. of India, 23rd June 1917, FPD, INT-B, Oct., 1917, Pro. No. 126.
17. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
18. Webster Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to Secretary to Govt. of India, No. 1245, W, 7th Nov., 1917. FPD. EXT-'Secret', July, 1918, Pro. No 7.
19. A Thadoe village belonging to Manipur and lying immediately to the north of Chin Hills. Carey and Tuck, *op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 17, f. n. 1.

20. Webster to the Secretary to Government of India, No. 1245-W, *loc. cit.*
21. Webster, Secretary to the Government of India, No. 1245—W. Shillong, 7th November, 1917, FPD, Secret-Ext., July, 1918.
22. Webster to Grant, No. 1432-W, 27th December, 1917, FPD, *ibid.* According to another report, the first raid of the Kukis led by a few Manipuris was on the Manipur State forest hill station at Ithai. Para 10, FPD, Secret-1, 1920, Pro. No. 4.
23. Webster to Wood, 28th March, 1918, FPD, INT-A, August, 1919, Pro. No. 50.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Shakespear—*History of Assam Rifles.* p. 212.
26. Resolution by Assam Administration, No. 8856-p, 27th September 1920, FPD, Secret—'E', November, 1920. Enclo. to Pro. 105, para 1.
27. Webster to Secretary to Govt. of India, 19th August, 1918, FPD, EXT-B January 1919, Pro. No. 46.
28. Webster to Wood, *op. cit.*
29. For the creation of the camp at Ukhrul or Chingmei. Case No. 1537, 12.2.19, Case No. 1642, 22.2.19, No. 710, 6.9 18, Misc. 1918-1919.
30. *History of Assam Rifles*, p. 230. For details, *see* I. EXT-'B' August 1919, Enclosure to Pro. No. 96. Enclosure to the Resolution by Assam Administration is also useful.
31. Resolution by Assam Administration, *op. cit.*, para 10.
32. For details—*Assam Rifles*, Chapter XVII and XVIII. Reid. *op. cit.*, pp. 79-81. Lal Dena—*loc. cit.*
33. Webster to the Secretary to Government of India, 27th June, 1919, No. 6310-p, FPD, Secret-1, January, 1920, Pro. No. 4, para 3.
34. The resolution by Assam Administration, *op. cit.*, para 1. "The rebellion was almost confined entirely to a section of the new Kukis, comprising most of the Thadoes with northern Kamhas clans—a few Baite villages among the Mangvum Haokip clans in the south-east of Manipur. With these exceptions almost all the non-Thadoes and old

Kuki tribes as well as the Nagas remained loyal." Also *see* Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 80. From the map C, it is also evident that the zones of the revolt fairly corresponds with the major clusterings of the Thadoe settlements.

35. For example, village Kalam ThongKani, village Kangchup, village Khougnung, BK, p. 39, p. 103. & p. 127.

36. Petition of Khongjalam Kuki of Chingtai, 21.9.17, Case No. 350, Misc. 1917-1918. The Kipyin [Kipgen ?] clan under the leadership Vunmul migrated to Somra Tract in order to refrain from fighting with the British *ARC*, 1919, p. 11. Even some Thadoe chiefs also supported the British. For example Ngulen, Chief of Khongyang, belonged to Singson, a sub-clan of the Thadoes, wanted "a premission to fight with the rebel Kukis if they attack the Kabui villages near Kachar road." Case No. 1059, 29.10.18, Misc. 1918-1919. These Kabui villages probably accepted the allegiance of the said chief.

37. Th. Thang Khochon--"Thadou War of Independence"--unpublished typed article.

38. Mr. Lal Dena has completely accepted the views of the British officials about the causes of uprising.

39. Webster to the Secretary of Govt. of India, No. 6189-P, 23rd June 1919, FPD, EXT-A', Dec. 1919, Pro. No. 7.

40. W. H. Long, Secretary of State for India to Governor-General in Council, 8th March, 1918, FPD, July, 1918, Pro. No. 112.

41. For example, Roufeng, Chief of Senbu Village, Case No. 440, 12.10.14, Khaidou Kuki, Case No. 318, 4.9.17. Misc. 1917-1918.

42. Case No. 379, 1.10.17 *Ibid.*

43. Case No. 375. 1.10.17. *Ibid.* similar Case—Case No. 532, 12.11.17 *Ibid.*

44. Webster to the Secretary of Govt. of India, No. 1245 W, 7th November 1917, FPD, July 1918 Pro. No. 7. "There is no doubt that many of them believed that if they send labourers to France, they were sending them to certain death and it was this belief that drove them into open rebellion." Webster to Secretary to the Govt. of India, 27th June 1919, FPD, Secret-I, 1920, Pro. No. 4, para 11.

There was a striking similarity between the Kuki uprising of 1917 and the Mokambe uprising of 1917 in East Africa. There also Warbawe-society revolted against the conscription of labour crops because of uncertainty of the safe return of conscripted men. Ranger, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

45. Case No. 820, 18.12.13. Misc. 1912-1913. also *see* Case No. 800—Case No. 808, 14.12.13. *ibid.*
46. *ARM*, 1921-22.
47. Mrs. Cole due to her knowledge of this area tried to arbitrate between the Thadoes and the British. Shakespear --*Assam Rifles*, *op. cit*, p. 210.
48. A. R. Grant's note to army Dept., 5.6.18, FPD, EXT-'Secret', July, 1919, p. 45.
49. The petition of the chiefs, 18th May, 1919, FPD.
50. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
51. For the evidence of the Kuki lambus—*see* Case No. 363, 14.6.19. Misc. 1919-1920. In 1919-1921 out of 47 lambus, 26 were the Kukis. *ARM* 1921-22. In Imphal the [illegible] *lambu* lane and the new *lambu* lane are inhabited by Kukis including Thadoes whose ancestors were lambus [illegible] during the Kuki uprising. Field survey during my [illegible] at Imphal from 1st Nov. 1972 to 6th Oct. 1973.
52. Resolution by Assam Administration, *op. cit.*, para 4.
53. Webster to the Secretary to Government of India, 27th June, 1919, No, 6310 p., FPD, Secret—"I" January 1920, para No. 4 to 5.
54. *Assam Rifles*, *op. cit.*. p. 212. Even 12 hours before the outbreak, the local authority sent a telegram saying that everything was calm and quite.
55. Letter from the Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, No. 4459-J, 23rd Oct., 1907, FPD, EXT-'A', April, 1908.
56. J. C. Higgins to Political Agent in Manipur, 3rd Sept., 1914, FPD, EXT-B, Nov. 1914, Enclo. 6 to Pro. No. 159.
57. *Assam Rifles*, p. 210.
58. For the details of the system, *see* J. Johnstone--*Report of Manipur Agency*, 1873-77, No. 153, Selections from Government Records, pp. 15-16.
59. *ARM*—1912-1913. *Chief and leading officials and personages in Manipur*, Shillong, 1919, p. 2

60. MDP. 26.2.1926.

61. Any comparison between the pre-twenties Case Registers and those of the twenties would show it.

62. Speech delivered by His Highness Maharaja, FPD, Secret—External, August, 1919, Enclosure 2 to Pro. No. 61.

63. Resolution by Assam Administration, *op. cit.*, para 14.

64. *ARM*, 1917, Appendix, table XXII. The previous to the famine years the expenditure on the hill areas for welfare purpose was also nil. *ARM*, 1910-11, table XXII.

65. *ARM* 1916, Appendix, table XXII.

66. *ARM*, 1911-1912, p. 7. protest of certain Kukis regarding scarcity, M-6p, Political, B. Jan, 1913, Amalgamated Index of Proceedings of Assam Government, p. 462. *Supplement to Assam District Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Shillong, 1914, pp. 5-6. The famine is connected with the natural phenomenon of the flowering of the bamboos. Feeding on these flowers the number of the rates multiplies. As a result, they attacked the paddy fields and at the same time destroyed the bamboo jungles—an essential ingredient for the jhum cultivation, for details percodic flowering of the bamboos, rat ravages, and the famine see *General Administrative Report on Cachar*, and *McCulloch's Report on Manipur*, 1858 Extracts given in *the Lushais*, 1873-1889, Shillong, 1889, para 100, p. 33. N. E. Parry, *The Lakhers*, London, 1932, pp. 193-194. The value of the bamboos in the jhum cultivation by the Lushai-Kuki clans has been clearly noted by the Britishers. A. W. Davies—*Gazetteer of the North Lushai Hills*, Shillong, 1894, p. 11. Similar cases of the flowering of the bamboos and the ravages of rats are to be reported from some of the parts of the Latin America. F. A. McClure, *The Bamboos*, Massachussets, 1966 pp. 84-86. However, through the famines in the hill areas may be attributed to the natural causes, huge extraction done by the imperial power aggravated the crisis to a great extent.

67. *ARM*, 1912-1913, p. 4.

68. *ARM*, 1914-1915, p. 5.

69. *ARM*, 1916-1917, p. 8.

70. For a connection with famine and tribal revolt cf. K. S. Singh—"Famine, Scarcity and Economic Development," *Tribal situation in India*, ed. by K. S. Singh, Simla, 1972, pp. 390-394.

71. Hutton calls the migration of the Thadoes as the second wave. J. H. Hutton—"The occurrence of blow gun in Assam", *Man*. July, 1924, p. 106. Perhaps he has referred to the migration of the old Kukis in the last half of 18th Century as first wave and that of Soote Kuks round about 1870s as the third wave.

72. Col. Lister's Report, 1853, quoted in A Mackenzie, *History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of North East Frontier of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1884, p, 287.

73. Doupler, Supt of Police to J P. Grant, Secretary to Govt. of Bengal, 21st November, Judicial Proceedings, 5th December 1849, No. 109. Hutton has argued that among the Lushaye-Kuki, the ideology of headhunting is different from that of the genuine head-hunters. To the latter it is a conscious attempt to convey the soul of individual, behead into victor's possessions as a source of life and ferti[lity] the head being regarded "as location par excelle[nce] of soul". To the former, the soul of the beheaded man [...] a person may serve the deceased in the next world [...] different from the true head-hunter's conception of it as sort of life essence". Hutton's note to Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 78, fn. 3. This has been supported by Fisher, an administrator from Cachar district. He argued that it was only after the death of one of their Rajahs that their incursions for head hunting took place. J. Butler—*Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*. London, 1855, p 90,

74. Lister to Sorrens, 24th January, Judicial Proceedings, 13th Feb., 1850, No. 135.

75. Letters to the Court of Directors, Judicial Deparment, 2nd October, 1850, para 132.

76. *Ibid*, part 126. The policy of using the Kuki irregulars has probably been first practised by the King of Tripura against his rebel Minister, Tularam. Jenkins report on frontier tribes in A.J.M. Mills, *Report on Assam*, Calcutta, 1854, Appendix, M,page CXXII. Butler, *op. cit.* p. 79.

77. McCulloch's Memorandum, 8th July 1861, quoted in Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

78. Jenkins has for the first time clarified the policy in explicit terms. "Our hopes of reclaiming this country appears to be rest on these Kookies. They are already sufficiently numerous to delay the Nagas if they can be united for the purpose of defence." Jenkin's report, Mills. *op. cit*, p. CXXIII.

79. J. Shakespear, *op. cit*,, p. 199. He referred specially to Thadoes as irregulars. Curiously enough he has argued that the Manipuris had followed a policy of divide and rule among the tribes and used the Thadoes in oppressing the Nagas and the British has checked this policy. The documents show that the story was otherwise.

80. James Johnstone– *My Experiences in Manipur and Naga Hills*, Delhi, 1971, p. 26.

81. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

82. Johnstone, p 140. Dun also mentioned to 700 irregulars who acted as scouts during expeditions, E. W. Dun—*Gazetteer of Manipur*, Calcutta, 1886, p. 53.

83. *ARM*, 1875-76. *Selections from Foreign and Political Department*, No. 134, p. 5. The British urged the same kind of policy towards the Soote Kukis. "If however either by a display of forces or by concession of land they could be brought under sufficient control, they would be a valuable acquisition for defensive purposes on the frontier." C. J. Lyall, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam to A. C. Lyall, Secretary to Government of India, 22nd April, 1878-79, *ibid*, No. 168, p. 4. The British policy of using the new Kukis as instruments in their policy has also been substantiated by the Manipur chronicle. The references to Kukis accompanying the King as irregulars are quite numerous. The late Igonoghal Singh and N. Khelchandra Singh—*Chaithoral Kumbaba*, Imphal, 1962, p. 52. Here 200 soldiers and 100 irregulars were ordered to northwards. In fact, the Khongjais, the appellation given to the Thadoes, meant 'irregular' in the Manipuri language. This can again be proved by the fact that the Kukis fought side by side with the Manipur

regular army during the rebellion of Tikendrajit. "Many of these who fought against us in 1891 were the Kukis, acting under the orders of Darbar." Webster to the Secretary, No. 4459-J, 23rd October, 1907, FPD, EKT-'A' April, 1908, Pro. No. 2. Col. A. Vickers—'Among the Kukis', *Blackwood Magazine*, Vol. 221, January to June, 1927, p. 817.

83. (a) E. R. Leach—*Political Systems of Highland Burma*, Massachussets, 1954, pp. 198-199.

84. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

85. Street's Report, 26th June, 1920, *ARC*, 1920, p. 12.

86. Hutton's introduction to Shaw's book, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

87. Th. Thangkhochon—*op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

88. J. W. Edger's report, civil officer of the Lushaye expedition to the commissioner circuit, Dacca, No. 458, 3rd April 18, Appendix E, Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 460. "Disturbances have always been confined to the hills occupied by the Kabui Tribe of the Nagas." Dun, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

89. Watt wrote, "They (Kabuis) would appear to have occupi[ed] their present position from greater antiquity having b[een] only compelled to resign positions they formerly he[ld] through the persecution of the Kukis." "The aborigi[nal] Tribes of Manipur", *Journal of Anthropological Instit[ute]* Vol. XVI, 1887, Reprinted in V. Elwin Ed. *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century, Bombay*, 1969, p. 454 All these can be substantiated by the documents also. There was a reference to the wholesale massacre of Nagas, by the Kukis and Kuki occupation of their land in the year 1889. Webster to the Secretary to Government of India, No. 4459-J, *loc. cit*, FPD, EXT 'A' April, 1908, Pro. No. 2. As the Kukis lived south of the Government road towards Cachar and the Kabuis to the north of it clashes among them were not usual. B. C. Allen—Assam District Gazetteer, Vol. IX Shillong, 1905, pp. 40-41. There were also references to the villages of the Kabuis forcibly occupied by the Kukis till the Kuki uprising. Civil Case, Appeal Order No. 12, 1937, D. C Court, Imphal. "They were allowed to settle entirely in the country already fully populated." Hutton's Introduction to Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Any comparative study

between the Map A and B would make the picture clear how the Kabuis and other tribes were dislodged from their old lands by the Thadoes.

90. E. Leach, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.

91. Edger's report, Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

92. C. G. Crawford—*A Handbook of Kuki Customs*, Imphal, 1927. The book gives a list of customary dues payable to the chiefs such as migration dues. The principal due is, however, *kotha* or free labour for chief given by one person from each household for a stipulated period. The task or head of the junted animals, was also due to the chiefs. For more details, Carey and Tuck, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.

93. McCulloch, *Account of the Valley of Manipore and Hill Tracts.* Calcutta, 1859, p. 59. Shakespear also wrote, "In most of these clans, the Thadoe rule of inheritance is followed, *viz.*, the eldest son takes all his father's property." Shakespear, *op. cit.*, p. 156. This has also been supported by my field study.

94. R. Stewart, "Notes on Northern Cachar," *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXIV, 1855, pp. 625-627.

95. For existense of *pipa*, Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Interview with Mr. Thangkhochon and Mr. Hinkho Thang, Mot Bung village, 26th May, 1973. For existence of Housha chiefs, G. H. Damant, "The North Cachar Hills and its Inhabitants, *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 61, 1875, p. 68, McCulloch quoted in Carey and Tuck, Vol. 1, p. 137. Both T. C. Das and Hodson have discussed the role of *pipa* among the Purums and the Meitheis. Though this concept does not seem to be well developed among the Purums, among the Meitheis it is associated with the chief of Saleis who as a leader of sibs or clan officiates in the annual ceremony to eponymous tribal ancestor. T. C. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 120, T. C. Hodson—*The Meitheis*, Shillong, 1908 p. 73.

96. Edger's report, Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

97. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 634.

98. Edger's report, Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 442. In the Chin Hill areas the same situation prevailed. "At Hakka and

south, an intricate state of affairs exists for the chiefs of several clans... The result is that there is no unity at all in the village which is divided into different quarters each controlled by one or more chiefs, all distinctly connected with each other, whose interests, are always at variance." Carey and Tuck—*op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 202, p. 109.

99. The origin of chieftainship among the Thadoes is a difficult problem. They had certainly hereditary chiefs among themselves prior to their contact with the British. But patronage of the British for the chiefs certainly consolidated their position. In an earliest account of the Thadoes, there is a reference to a limited elective system to select a chief on the village level. J. Macrae—"Account of the Kookies or Iunctas," *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII, 1801, p. 185.

100. BR, p. 205.

101. *Ibid.* p. 209.

102. Carey and Tuck, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. CCXVI-CCXXIX.

103. *Ibid*, Vol. I, f. n. 2., p. 137. cf. E. R. Leach—*op. ci.* pp. 234-235.

104. C. H. Soppit, *A Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Trib.* London, 1887. Hodson, *passim*, Stewart—*op. cit.*, p. 620. E. W. Dalton—*Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1827, pp 51.

105. Lister's account, Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

106. Edger's note—20th March, 1871, *ibid*, p. 427. Stewart has categorically referred to this. "The Kookies are naturally a migratory race, never occupying the same place for more than two, at the utmost three years at a time but removing to new sites—as soon as they have exhausted the land in the vicinity of their villages which they ,pear to do in much less time than any of other tribes." Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

107. Hodson, *Nagas of etc.*, p. 2. Shaw also referred to the migratory habit of the Thadoes, Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

108. Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 603-604. Here a graphic account of the process of cultivation has been given. Edger also noted a similar fact. Mackenzie, *op. cit*, p. 460.

109. M. H. Godwin-Austen—*Report on the Survey Operations in the Naga Hills and Manipur*. Incorporated in *General Report on Topographical Survey of India* for 1872-73, Calcutta, 1874, p. 82.

110. 20,235 hectres of land can support about 2,220 souls only. J. B. Ganguli, *Economic problems of the Jhumiyas of Tripura*, Calcutta, 1968, pp. 55-57. However, the carrying capacity of land under shifting cultivation varies from one village to another due to cultivation factor and carrying density. S. Bose, *Carrying capacity of land under shifting cultivation*, Calcutta 1968, p. 54. The adaptibility of the shifting cultivation to its ecology is very narrow in the tropical areas. For a brilliant summary of this view, Clifford Geertz. *Agricultural Involution. The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia*, California, 1963, pp. 25-28.

111. Hunter—*Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. VI, Cal, 1873, p. 503 on the population of the Kukis in Manipur, *see* f. n. 144.

111 (a) The treacherous murder of the chief of the Chassad by some Manipur officials was considered such a typical case. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

112. Carey and Tuck—*op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.

113. For a brilliant discussion for the same kind of self-perpetuating political system among the African tribes, *see* Max Gluckmann—"frailty in authority" and "the licence in ritual." *Custom and Conflict in Tribal Africa*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 28-29 and pp. 109-136.

114. McCulloch—*Account of Valley*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

115. Edger's report, Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

116. McCulloch, *Account of Valley etc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 59. Among the Kachins, with when the new Kukis have a similarity, migration served similar purpose. Here of course the rule is applicable to elder brother. Leach, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.

117. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 634.

118. Carey and Tuck, *op. cit.*, p. 201. They also wrote, "occassionally an influential man of strong character rebels

against his lawful chief and founds with his immediate relatives his own villages."

119. Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

120. Hutton's comment, Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 23, f. n. 1.

121. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

122. Case No. 268, 13. 11/16, misc., 1916-1917. Case No. 449, 16.1.17, *ibid.*

123. Carey, Commissioner of Sagaing Division to Rice, Chief Secretary to Govt. of Burma, 13th Feb., 1915, FPD 'EXT-'A', 1915, Enclosure to Pro. No. 13.

124. R. Brown referred to hereditary chiefs whose orders are generally obeyed by the village chiefs, *op. cit.*, p. 131. The superior influence by the clan chiefs in taking decision during the time of emergency can be well substantiated. Pase accepted the decision of Tongu as the clan chief binding on him. Carey's letter to Rice, FPD, *cp* para 6. Heljason, chief of Loebal, decided to join rebellion because of the order given by superior clan ‹ So was case with Mangkhoon, chief of Tingai Mangk‹ who was subordinate to Pakhang of Hinglep. punishment of rebel chiefs', FPD, Secret-I, 1920, No. 4. paras. 27-28.

125. Name of numerous such villages occurs in the documents. Thangyam Khunow, Case 604, 5/12/17, misc. 1917-1918. Chingdao Khunow. Case No. 47, 19.12.33, *ibid*, 1933-34. I am indebted to Mr. Kh. Kipgen for this specific information.

125 (a) A caution is, however, necessary against any over-statement. The tribal society is a subsistence economy. The chiefs' dues in various forms certainly involved exploitation. As a result, there were potentialities for antagonistic contradiction between the chiefs and the ordinary members. The aspirations of the ordinary members to be the chiefs itself pre-supposes some previleges associated with the post of the chiefs. That these potentialities for antagonistic contradictions did not explode into open outburst underlined the strength of the organisation of the chieftainship. In the struggle

against imperialism, the contradiction against the chiefs played, therefore, a dormant role.

126. E. J. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 51. Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 454.
127. A. Vickers, *op. cit.*, pp. 816-817.
128. G. Brown, *Upper Chindwin District*, Rangoon, 1913, p. 25. The designation Chassad was nickname attached to the Thadoes, p. 22.
129. *ARC*, 1908-1909, para 3, p. 19.
130. Hutton's tour diary sent to the Commissioner of Surma Valley, 13th May 1918, FPD, Secret 'External', August, 1919, Enclosure to Pro. No. 72.
131. Petition from 10 Naga Villages FPD, External B, Nov. 1914, Enclosure 4 to Pro. 152.
132. *ARC*, 1909-1910, p. 2.
133. E. R. Leach—*op. cit.*, p. 171.
134. Johnson's report, Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 211. *AR* 1878-79. No. 168. pp. 16-17, J. C. Higgins to Political Agent in Manipur, 3rd Sept., 1914. *FPD, op. cit.*
135. *ARM*, 1913-1914, p. 4.
136. Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
137. *AR*, Hill Section 1930-31, p. 2.
138. Amidst numerous references Case No. 75. 10.6.15. Case No. 85. 24.7.15. Case No. 150. 7.9.15. Case No. 178. 7.10.15. Case No. 271. 10.12.15. Case No. 329 to 402. 16.1.16. Case No. 413 to 429. 19.1.16. Case No. 447 to 454. 20.1.16. Mis. Case Register 1915-1916. Case No. 319 to 328. 13.12.16. Case No. 336 to 342. 13.12.16. Misc. 1916-1917. All these cases were held between the chiefs on the one hand and the British Government on the other. The order was also uniform. It insisted on amalgamation with big villages or payment of house tax at an increasing rate. Failing this, burning of the village was only way out.
139. Case 531—1.3.16. *Misc.* 1915-1916.
140. Interviews with Thangkhochon and Hinkho Thang, village Mot Bung, 26th May, 1973. B. N. Sahay, *op. cit.* p. 175.
141. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 626.
142. Vickers—*op. cit.*, pp. 817-818.

143. *Memorandum of Kuki Political Sufferers' Association*, Manipur, Imphal, 1958, p. 20.

144. The total population figure for the Kukis in 1901 was 40,000 which increased in 1913 upto 65,000. B. C. Allen, *Assam District Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Shillong, 1905. Table Three Supplement, *op. cit.* During 1917 the rough estimate of the Thadoes alone was 40,000. FPD, Secret 1, Jan. 1920, Pro. No. 4. The fragmentary nature of the data makes any speculation on population hazardous. However, if we accept Grierson's (1904) rough estimate of the Thadoes numbering 20,000 in Manipur, we can suggest that the tribe doubled itself in 11 years. Grierson, *op. cit.*, p. 61. The increase of the numbers caused two things. First, the Thadoe settlements, by this time, exhausted the hill areas and were hemmed around by the settlements of other clans. It would result in the gradual withdrawal of the older tribes from the hill areas to the valley and the migration of the Thadoes beyond the boundary of Manipur. For first point see the Map B and C and Shakespear, *op. cit.*, p. 156. The second is well-attested fact.

145. *ARC*, 1915, p. 19.

146. *ARC*, 1918, p. 9.

147. B. C. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

148. For details ARM, 1917-1918, petition of the Kuki chief, Secret-1, Jan. 1920. Enclosure to Pro. No. 4.

149. Webster to Hignett, No. 569-W, 1st June, 1918, FPD, EXT—'Secret', July 1918, p. 26.

150. Webster to Grant, No. 618—T. C., 15th Dec. 1917, Pro. No. 22, *ibid.*

151. Resolution by Assam Administration, *op. cit.*, para 8.

152. ARM, 1918-1919.

153. Resolution by Assam Administration, *op. cit.*, para 8.

154. Case Nos. 144-154, 12.9.18 to 14.9.18, Civil Case Register, 1918-1919.

155. From Political Agent in Manipur to the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, 21st Feb. 1918, FPD, INT—'A' Aug, 1919, Pro. No. 50.

156. *ARC*, 1918. Extracts from the Proceedings of the Government of Burma, in the Political Deparment No. 4R—10, 26th Dec. 1918.
157. Tour Diary of Hutton, 3rd April, 1918, FPD, *op. cit.*
158. Rice to Grant, 131-c 1st Apr. 1918, FPD, EXT Secret, July 1918. Pro. No. 101. Other causes seemed to be decree against slavery ; Shakespear, *Assam Rifles.*, *op. cit.*, p. 212. *The Statesman*, Friday, March 22, 1918, p. 5.
159. There is a strong tradition that the Manipuri King took shelter among the Thadoes during the Burmese invasion and was assisted by them, McCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 6, Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
160. FPD, Secret-I, Jan 1920, Pro. No. 4—12, From the Map C, it can be seen that the main zones of the revolt were dominated by the villages of leading chiefs, *i.e.*, those of Aishan, Mombi, Kamjang, Hinglep, UKuh, etc.
161. BR. p. 167.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
163. Cf. P. Worsley ; *When the Trumpet Shall Sound*, London, 1957, p. 227.
164. T. O Ranger—"Revolt in Portugese East Africa," *op. cit.*, p. 80. This has been categorised as an essentially tribal revolt.
165. G. Shepperson and T. Price—*Independent African*, Edinbergh, 1958, Chap. IX. This is also a tribal revolt with certain essentially modern elements, such as a demand for self-determination by the rebels, and an understanding of the world situation.
166. E. Terray—*Marxism and Primitive Society*, New York, 1972 pp. 178-179.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS

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Abstract : This paper deals with the growing problem of resentment among the indigenous intellectuals in Pacific Islands about the approaches and results of the external anthropologists. The Pacific people expect the anothropologist to be more like a novelist and a social historian and less of a scientist who speaks in jargons. They feel that the professional writings of the anthropologists have provided a distorted image of the Pacific Islanders to the outside world and have neglected to portray them as rounded human beings. Some of the decisive advantages of anthropological research of their own community done by local anthropologists have been discussed.**

IT is a painful experience for people to sit and listen to someone talking about himself. But the theme of the symposium and my rather peculiar situation warrant a personal statement which I shall make as briefly as possible. I speak this morning from two standpoints : firstly, as someone who is undergoing training in a particular academic discipline which binds me intellectually with fellow anthropologists, mostly from the West ; and secondly, as a native of the South Pacific Islands whose cultures have provided, for nearly a century, a very substantial part of the field of exploitation for our antropological enterprise. As an aspiring anthropologist,

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**This paper is a revised form of one which I read to a symposium on The Future of Anthropology in Melanesia at the 46th ANZAAS Congress held in Canberra in January 1975. From the original paper I have deleted some words, and added to it roughly one typed page. I wish to express my appreciation to : Marie Reay, who was immensely helpful in discussing some of the ideas expressed in the paper ; Inge Riebe, who read an earlier draft and pronounced it too tame ; and Barbara Hau'ofa who reads my mind and says wise and critical things which are not always flattering.

I am intellectually part of an international community bound together by a particular discipline ; as a Pacific islander, I am emotionally tied to peoples in a geographical region, some of whom have achieved independent nationhood, and some have yet to become autonomous. Whatever their political situations may be, most educated people in the Pacific, like myself, are trying to redefine their cultural identities, or endeavouring to shed a kind of mentality bred under conditions of colonialism. And it is within this context that I shall discuss some aspects of what I consider to be the position of our discipline in the esteem of the peoples of the South Seas.

As a former tutor in the University of Papua New Guinea, and as someone to whom islanders talk with little self-conscious politeness or deference, I have been struck by the claims by people that 'anthropologists do not really understand us', 'do not present a complete or fair picture of us', and as Tongans say, 'they do not know how we feel'.

Recently, I have been told that in New Guinea, among some sensitive university graduates, we are regarded with distaste. This attitude, of course, is not confined to peoples in our traditional fieldwork areas ; I am certain that many people of the New South Wales town of Bowral feel the same way about Dr. Wilde, as is evident in the views that they expressed in a Four Corners T. V. Programme last year. But I am not dealing with what New South Wales men think about anthropologists ; I am specifically concerned with the reactions of educated Pacific islanders to us, and their attitudes to the products of our work. Before we dismiss the complaints about the shortcomings of anthropology as uninformed, subjective outbursts by those who are incapable of standing back from their cultural milieu and looking at it with the disinterested objectivity of trained social scientists, we should try first to see what are the grounds, if any, for such complaints. A discussion of these is important in that it may help us in reassessing our relationships with Pacific peoples who are living in a world considerably different from that which Malinowski and his intellectual descendants saw. I exclude from this paper the

Maori of New Zealand and the Aborigines of Australia because these groups live in predominantly Western-type societies and their problems are different from those of the largely indigenous populations of the rest of the Pacific Isles.

I believe that a major part of the problem is the disjunction between people's expectations of us—probably they would like us to draw portraits of them—and of our special social scientific aims. At times this arises from the fact that when we explain our purposes to those among whom we conduct our fieldwork, we feel unable to explain fully to them our real aims. This is so partly because of the problems of communication which we all know. What we often end up saying is that we are there to learn their customs and to write books about them. They cooperate with us thinking that we are going to tell their stories taking their points of view into consideration. When we produce our articles and monographs and they and th children or grandchildren read them, they often cannot themselves or they see themselves being distorted and misi presented. In many cases our field of discourse, and o special social scientific language, preclude any comprehensi of what we are talking about even to those who have started training in anthropology. Thus for example, in the late 1960's perhaps the most popular first year subject taught at the University of Papua New Guinea was the introductory course in social anthropology. Students flocked to it partly because of the belief that anthropology, which purportedly deals with their traditional cultures and societies, would help them with their problems of alienation, and partly to see what we are saying about them. Their interest dropped rapidly once they were confronted with our esoteric language. I do not think that we have produced at the University of Papua New Guinea a native graduate who has entered our profession. As in other parts of the Pacific, students are attracted more to history which deals with their past as people.

Essentially, what Pacific peoples expect of us is to be more of the novelist and the social historian and less of the scientist who speaks in jargon. We do not see ourselves as novelists,

and rightly so ; but we could benefit from the approach of the social historian, and from writing in plain, elegant English. In discussing the attitudes of Africans to Europeans in Ghana before independence. Gustav Jahoda has this to say :

> The skilled writer or novelist sometimes succeeds in conveying to his readers a balanced impression and the 'feel' of the strengths and weaknesses, joys and fears, of a whole people. When a psychologist or sociologist digs below the level of overt behaviour, some of the generalisations he comes up with are apt to look odd, distorted, and unflattering...(1961 : 134).

I would go a bit further than Jahoda and assert that some of our writings, especially about Melanesians, actually distort the images of those whom we have studied. Some of the titles of our books, for example *The Sexual Life of Savages*, are very offensive. It needs only one or two instances of gross distortion, especially in books or articles regarded as influential and essential reading, for our discipline to come under wholesale condemnation by the increasingly sensitive educated men and women. Let me take a good example. Somehow or other we have projected onto Melanesian leaders the caricature of the quintessential Western capitalist : grasping, manipulative, calculating, and without a stitch of morality. Lest it be charged that I am grossly exaggerating, I shall quote an extract from an eminent anthropologist, Marshall Sahlins, in his paper on political types in Melanesia and Polynesia :

> Here I find it useful to apply characterisations—or is it caricature ? —from our own history to big-men and chiefs... The Melanesian big-man seems so thoroughly bourgeois, so reminiscent of the free enterprising rugged individual of our own heritage. He combines with an ostensible interest in the general welfare a more profound measure of self-interested cunning and economic calculation. His gaze...is fixed unswervingly to the main chance. His every public action is designed to make a competitive and invidious comparison with others, to show a standing above the masses that is product of his own personal manufacture. (1968 : 164).

The language used here has been taken straight out from the factory and the boardroom. The writer denies that traditional Melanesian leaders have any genuine interest in the welfare of their people, and that their public actions are all motivated purely by selfishness. This is erroneous, and it would have mattered less had it not been for the fact that Sahlins' article is required reading in Pacific Anthropology. It is a clever, thoughtless and an insulting piece of writing. I have quoted only the most offending part ; the whole article is an invidious pseudo-evolutionary comparison, in Sahlins' terminology, between the "developed" Polynesian polities and the "under-developed" Melanesian ones. It belongs to a pedigree of literature on Oceania—going back at least two hundred years—written by explorers, navigators, beachcombers, missionaries, colonial officials and the like, who have romanticised Polynesians and denigrated Melanesians. It has been read by hundreds and probably thousands of university students and other interested readers in the English-speaking world, and now by students in the Pacific. It has been reprinted in a number of anthropological text-books. It has the potential of bolstering the long-standing Polynesian racism against Melanesians ; and Melanesian students were, in my time, not particularly pleased to read about themselves being unfavourably compared with their eastern neighbours.

This may be an extreme example but it is indicative of the fact that after decades of anthropological field research in Melanesia we have come up only with pictures of people who fight, compete, trade, pay bride-prices, engage in rituals, invent cargo cults, copulate and sorcerise each other. There is hardly anything in our literature to indicate whether these people have any such sentiments as love, kindness, consideration, altruism and so on. We cannot tell from our ethnographic writings whether they have a sense of humour. We know little about their systems of morality, specifically their ideas of the good and the bad, and their philosophies ; though we sometimes get around to these, wearing dark glasses, through our fascination with cargo cults. We have ignored their physical gestures, their deportment, and their patterns of non-

verbal communication. By presenting incomplete and distorted representations of Melanesians we have bastardised our discipline, denied people important aspects of their humanity in our literature, and we have thereby unwittingly contributed to the perpetuation of the outrageous stereotypes of them made by ignorant outsiders who lived in their midst.

We should not, therefore, be surprised when we see equally distorted pictures of themselves, painted by angry nationalists, as being more moral and better human beings than us. These are reactions against years of indignities heaped upon them. We talk about these in conversations among ourselves but we do not care enough to write it down. We are not even aware that in Papua New Guinea we, and through us, our discipline, are being increasingly blamed for most of the nasty stereotypes of the people. We are generally innocent of the sins of commission, but we are guilty of the sins of omission and of insensitivity. We tend to be smug and complacent in our self-generated, self-perpetuated, and self-righteous image of our being better than any other category of foreigners in Melanesia. We congratulate ourselves for being of economic and medical benefit to the communities we study through our free dispensation of medicines, old clothes, some money, and sticks of tobacco to the natives. We assume that because we live for one and a half years or so in their villages and partake in their foods, people must judge us kindly. Today we are judged not so much on that as on our writings. It will not be through our interference in the affairs of Pacific nations that we improve our relationships with Pacific peoples ; rather it will be on the basis of what we have written, what we are writing, and what we will write.

It is fair to say that in general we have contributed insufficiently in our professional writings toward redressing the distorted image of Melanesians. We have neglected to portray them as rounded human beings who love as well as hate, who laugh joyously as well as quarrel, who are peaceful as well as warlike, and who are generous and kindly as well as mean and calculating. It is these ignored qualities of the

people which have enabled us to enter unsolicited and live among them. How then have we anthropologists neglected these aspects of human existence in Melanesia ? Have the models, for example that of conflict, which we have taken to the field, blinded us to these ? If we are really concerned with our relationships with peoples among whom we have lived as well as with the future of our discipline in the region, then we have to take into serious consideration the people's increasing sensitivity and touchiness about their image, and to infuse into our scientific writings about their cultures and societies some elements of the humanist outlook. I do not advocate compromising our discipline to suit changes in the political winds ; what I and many other Pacific men and women would appeal for is balance. When we distort the realities with which we are concerned, we not only offend people who have given us their hospitality and confidence, but we also bring into questi the validity of our science.

In 1972, Freeman published an article in which he speci and corrected the spelling errors of more than one hundred . seventy Samoan words made by Mead in her book, *So. Organisation of Manu'a*. He notes Mead's failure to cons. Pratt's Samoan dictionary which sets down the orthography of the language, and of the failure of the Bishop Museum to take heed of his warning about the errors before it issued a new edition of the book. As we are so perticular about the spelling of English words I find it deplorable that we do not apply the same standard to our spelling of Pacific languages. Those of us who see and understand the indignation in Freeman's publication are already on the road towards comprehending a little of the reactions of Pacific peoples when important elements of their cultures are abused, and their feelings are thoughtlessly or contemptuously disregarded by eminent anthropologists.

A fair indication of the interest in our discipline that we have aroused among the educated people of the region is the fact that after so many years of involvement, we have produced only one native professional anthropologist, the late Dr. Rusiate

Nayacakalou, and that was about fifteen or so years ago. I am a probable poor second. Yet we do not seem to care. We are eager to give all manner of advice to Pacific Governments on how to handle their developmental problems; and we are willing to give handouts; but we have not discussed as a serious proposition the desirability for the existence of fully qualified native anthropologists to work side by side with their international colleagues on the basis of equality. Since I have been in Australia as a student of anthropology, only one person, Professor Peter Lawrence, has raised the subject with me. So far our concern in this direction has been to involve Pacific peoples in *our* research projects only in the capacity of field assistants, which is paternalism in extreme.

While we are steeped in our preoccupation with our own problems of trying to maintain access to our traditional fieldwork areas, we should also give serious thought to encouraging actively the rise of fully trained local colleagues, as far as is possible, in each Pacific country. If we act on this it will be a more lasting and valuable contribution on our part to the region and to our discipline than the kinds of tokenism which we have so far entertained. There are several good reasons for this.

Firstly, the longer we, as outsiders, monopolise the research in the region, the stronger will be the feelings against us, and the more difficult will be our task of extricating our discipline from the taint of imperialism and exploitation.

Secondly, things being equal, local anthropologists, by their very presence in their own societies, should be in an excellent position for conducting continuous research, and for keeping in touch with local happenings. Those of us who live outside the region, have our own commitments to our institutions and societies, and we find it difficult to visit our fieldwork areas as often as we would like to. We tend to be absent for many years, and sometimes we do not even return at all. We thus lose the sense of the immediacy of the lived-in reality; people and events become blurred images in our memories, so we

inevitably write things which come out flat and lifeless, or we escape into ever refined analyses of kinship terminologies which are of no value or interest to mankind except to ourselves.

Thirdly, local anthropologists should have the advantage that most of us lack, namely a thorough knowledge and a deep appreciation of the nuances of their own languages. I suggest that a main reason why we are often unable to produce multi-dimensional representations of the realities we deal with is that although we may be proficient in the languages of those among whom we conduct our fieldwork, we generally do not have the kind of appreciation of them that local speakers do. The time we spend in the field is too short. I speak here in terms of averages ; there are notable exceptions.

Finally, local anthropologists should have the intuitive knowledge and a built-in 'feel' for the subtleties of their cultu and of their human relationships. Cynics and people with vision say that natives are too stupid or too closely involved their own societies to be objective in their research. Let face facts : everywhere, men and women of ability and wisdo can and do overcome great difficulties. Professor Meyer Fortes (pers. comm.) has pointed out that West African anthropologists —who, significantly, call themselves sociologists—are not different from their British and other non-African colleagues in terms of their products. He added that despite their initial advantages, African social scientists have not produced anything that others have not been, or are not able to accomplish. It is obvious that non-Western anthropologists, such as me for example, have received their training mostly in metropolitan countries under Western mentors, or in their own lands under Western-trained teachers. Any special 'feel' for or subjective insights they may have into their own communities and people could have been effectively suppressed by their rigorous training in the uncompromising empiricist tradition in outside settings. We must devise ways or better still, widen the horizon of our discipline, in order to tap instead of suppressing the 'feel' and the subjectivity to which I have

referred, and thereby to humanise our study of the conditions of Man in the Pacific.

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NADU VEEDU RITUALS AND FAMILY SHAMANISM IN TAMIL SOCIETY : A CULT INSTITUTION OF HINDUISM*

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Abstract : Household rituals are conceptualized in this paper as constituting a distinctive class, and Wallace's (1966) model of cult institutions is adapted to illustrate household rituals as comprising the familial cult institution of Hinduism. Depending on the affluence of household, the rituals and beliefs may vary, and household rituals and beliefs correspond varyingly to the rituals and beliefs associated with the ecclesiastical, communal and shamanic cult institutions of Hinduism. Household ritu and beliefs are discussed in this paper, focusing on an examinat of the worship of family deities and the installation of fami shamans.

1. *Introduction* : *The study of village Hinduism*

MOST anthropological-sociological theories of village Hinduism attempt to account for both the unity and regional variations in the beliefs and rituals that qualify for the label "Hindu". Historical-processual studies investigate the origin and distribution of Hindu religious elements and examine the processes which foster the adoption or rejection and the transformation of the religious elements. (*See*, for example. Srinivas 1952 ; Marriott 1955 ; Cohn 1971 ; Singer 1972.) Sociological-structural studies seek to discover

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how the basic principles of pan-Hindu ideological structure, such as the opposition between purity and impurity, are manifested in the worship of various ritually and hierarchically separated deities by the ritually and hierarchically separated jati groups. (*See*, for example, Dumont 1970; Babb 1970; Harper 1964; Sharma 1970.)

These approaches to the study of village Hinduism are based on the theoretical assumption that either the elements or the principles governing the relationships of these elements provide an universally distinctive character and synthetic unity or integration to Hinduism as it is practised in different regions and as it is manifested in various rituals. Such a theoretical assumption of Hindu religion comes from the view that the religion of a society has certain distinctive features of categories which are evident in *all* the diverse religious practices considered to be representative of that religion.

But, as Wallace (1966: 78) points out, religion is "essentially a summative notion and cannot be taken uncritically to imply that one single unifying, internally coherent, carefully programmed set of rituals and beliefs characterizes the religious behavior of the society or is equally followed by all its members." In Wallace's view it is better to study the religion of a society as composed of a "loosely related group of cult institutions."

I propose to consider household rituals as constituting the familial cult institution of Hinduism. A brief discussion of Wallace's (1966 : 75-96) views is necessary in order to demonstrate the validity of viewing household rituals as constituting a cult institution. Rejecting the sociological model of cult organization as unsuitable for an anthropological, comparative study of such loosely organised phenomena as shamanism and family cults, Wallace (1966 : 75) defines a cult institution as "a set of rituals all having the same general goal, all explicitly rationalized by a set of similar or related beliefs, and all supported by the same group." There can be several cult institutions in the same society such as individualistic, shamanic, communal and ecclesiastical: Complex societies are usually characterized by the existence of these cult institu-

tions which often overlap and contradict each other but with one variety predominating over others; in simple societies only the first two or three varieties of cult institutions are usually present.

In Wallace's classification rituals and beliefs associated with the Brahmanical priesthood belong to the ecclesiastical cult institution; jati-specific rituals constitute the communal cult institutions; ancestral-village deities and shamanism come under shamanic cult institution; and religious phenomena such as worship of personal guardian deities and witchcraft are to be viewed as rituals of the individualistic cult institution.

For the purposes of this paper I shall use the term "familial" instead of "individualistic", and class under familial cult institution aspects of what Wallace calls as shamanic and individualistic cult institutions; I shall make a distinction between communal shamanism and family shamanism, and view the latter along with the worship of family deities as distinctive features of the familial cult institution of Hinduism. The beliefs and rituals associated with the communal and shamanic cult institution of Hinduism are often antithetical to the ecclesiastical cult institution of Hinduism. The familial cult institution, on the other hand, incorporates to a varying degree the beliefs and rituals associated with ecclesiastical, communal and shamanic cult institutions; the familial cult institution functions at the level of the household.

The familial cult institution is characterized by the existence of exclusivity and diffuseness in its structuring of rituals and beliefs: every household adapts selectively to the ecclesiastical, communal and shamanic cult institutions. No two households have the same set of rituals and beliefs, and thus at the level of a household the institutions is characterized by exclusivity; every household participates differentially at different times in the rituals and beliefs associated with shamanic, communal and ecclesiastical cult institutions, and thus diffuseness is a fundamental feature of the familial cult institution. It can be said that exclusivity and diffuseness are adaptive: the degree of incorporation of rituals and beliefs

associated with the ecclesiastical, communal and shamanic institutions, as it is manifested in the rituals and beliefs of the household, represents the household's closeness (participation) or distance (lack of participation) to those institutions.

Although members of a jati group may rank themselves as ritually equal and may participate in the communal and shamanic rituals that are prerogatives of the jati group, the unequal economic status of the members of the jati groups makes it imperative to have variations in terms of incorporating rituals and beliefs associated with the ecclesiastical cult institution. For example, if a non-Brahmin jati group has the prerogative to use the services of a Brahmin priest in certain purification rites and thus participate in the ecclesiastical cult institution, not all members of the jati group can afford to secure his services. Family shamanic rituals occur more frequently in the less wealthy non-Brahmin household of the same jati group. Members of a wealthy household do not wait for members of less wealthy households of the same jati group before they begin participating more in the ecclesiastical cult institution. This kind of internal ritual differentiation of jati groups, (coupled with the existence of household-specific family deities and shamans) sustains the distinctiveness of the familial cult institution.

In the following pages I will discuss how the familial cult institution is perpetuated, and examine the relationship between the worship of family deities and family shamanism. The examples cited are from the Tamil society in South India. The main division in Tamil society is between Brahmins and non-Brahmins; non-Brahmins are divided into several jati groups, each claiming a ritual status which corresponds roughly to the group's economic status.

The majority of Tamil live in multi-jati villages, and villages which are large have temples officiated by Brahmin priests as well as temples officiated by non-Brahmin priests. Some temples are for the exclusive use of particular jati groups. The priests of non-Brahmin village temples are usually from a jati group known as *pandaram*, and they are often among those who function as communal shamans

Almost all households have family deities, and some household members may function as shamans of those deities; these shamans have been identified in this paper as family shamans, and family shamanism is viewed as an aspect of the familial cult institution of Hinduism.

2. *Nadu Veedu: perpetuation of the familial cult institution of Hinduism*

Nadu Veedu, which literally means "Middle House", is the term the Tamil use to designate the area of worship in the house. Beck (1972 : 206) describes the nadu veedu in the following manner :

> Every household has a *naTu viTu*, or central spot, generally located on a major wall facing north or east. This central spot may be unmarked, but usually there is a small indentation in the plaster or earth finish which is intended to hold a lamp. Printed pictures of various Indian divinities are often hung in the same area. Any members of the household who die are laid at right-angles to the wall, with their head on the *naTu*, or central spot. They remain there during the funeral proceedings and until they are taken for burial. Thus the area has a strong association with ancestors. Offerings are set out here during the ancestral *puja* each year in the month of *ATi*. The deceased are said to partake of the food before the family divides it in preparation for the traditional feast enjoyed on this day.

Apart from the offerings made during ancestral worship, offerings of cooked food are made to the deities on all ceremonial occasions : the procedure of offering food varies in different ritual contexts, with some rituals requiring that the eldest male in the family offer the food, and others permitting women to perform the offering. In nadu veedu worship, women can take an active role ; every evening a lamp, which is sometimes referred to as *kamatchi-Amman vilakku*, is lit by the woman of the house and she waves it in front of the deities, symbolically inviting them to be present in the house during

the night. Waving of the lamp is called *thipa-arathanay*, and the lamp is usually kept burning till daybreak.

Menstruating women and others who are temporarily impure are prohibited from entering the nadu veedu, and in some households the pictures and idols of the deities kept in the nadu veedu are covered with a turmeric-stained yellow cloth in order to protect the deities from contamination when impure or polluting persons live in the house. Purificatory rites are performed in the nadu veedu if and when an occurrence is believed to have defiled the house. For example, sickness, death, and a woman's coming-of-age are occasions for purification rites and special propitiation of the deities in the nadu veedu. And a visitation by some one considered ritually inferior or defiling also calls for a special ritual in the nadu veedu. In general, events considered to be defiling or impure are counteracted in the nadu veedu, so that the temporary offense given to the deities is corrected and their continued presence in the house guaranteed.

There is great variation within and between jati groups in terms of the elaborateness of the nadu veedu itself and of the rites performed in the nadu veedu. The variations can be viewed as markers of the familial cult institution's incorporation of rituals from shamanic, communal and ecclesiastical cult institutions. Ritually high ranking jati groups generally have the most elaborate paraphrenalia in the nadu veedu and the rituals that occur correspond to a varying degree with the incorporation of rituals associated with the ecclesiastical cult institution. Ritually low ranking jati groups generally allot very little space for the nadu veedu, and the tabus associated with the sanctity of the nadu veedu are not strictly adhered to. But the elaborateness of the nadu veedu and the elaborateness of the rituals are to a large extent determined by the economic power of the household, thus separating ritually the households of the same jati groups and assuring the perpetuation of the familial cult institution. Having distinctive rites and deities in the nadu veedu provide the household a measure of religious autonomy and power shared by no other household. (At the

jati group level a similar ownership of rituals and deities is claimed, and that constitutes the communal cult institution.)

3. Family Shamanism and Worship of the Family Deity : distinctive aspects of the familial cult institution of Hinduism

A distinction has been made between communal shamanism and family shamanism on the basis of their functions. The communal shaman who may or may not be the priest of village or jati temples is generally called upon by anyone in the jati group or the village community to divine causes of illness, exorcise evil spirits and to consult the supernatural in matters about which rational predictions are not possible ; the communal shaman protects the villager through the aid of a familiar who could be a goddess, godling or a spirit. The function of the family shaman is restricted in the sense that the primar duty is to protect the household with the aid of the fam guardian diety who is normally the familiar of the shaman.

The family deity could be a member of the ecclesiastic cult institution and could be an Amman (goddess) or l consort, or a spirit related to the communal cult instituti A deceased ancestor could come to be identified as an aspe of the goddess or a spirit and with an appropriate suffix indicating the divinity, the ancestor would be accepted by the members of the household as their family guardian deity.

Any ritual associated with crisis in the household must have the approval and blessing of the family deity, and this approval and blessing are conveyed through the shaman of the family deity. In those households without a shaman, when crisis rites are performed, the family deity's approval and blessing are generally made explicit through the services of a village shaman or a priest who may embark upon a special rite for the sole purpose of securing a sign of sanction for the crisis rite from the family deity as well as from other deities.

Although there may not exist a family shaman in the household at a given point in time, all members of the household are potential shamans of the family deity, and this fact is crucial for the household to function as a religious unit and for the consideration of household rituals as constituting the familial cult institution. It is not necessary for family shamans

to undergo special training : a person may experience possession by a godling, goddess or a spirit, and the supernatural being may convey to the other members of the household that protection would be given to the household and thus get installed as the family deity. Or, a family deity may belong to a household for several generations, selecting a favorite younger member through possession and indicating the wish to continue to be the protector of the household even after the death of the older member who might have served as the deity's shaman for several years.

The most important feature of family shamanism is that members of the household have the assurance that the family deity could be activated or called upon to serve the needs of the household in moments of uncertainty. When a member of the household is installed as the family shaman such an assurance is elicited from the deity and the shaman's permanent relationship with the deity is confirmed with the seal of burning camphour placed on the tongue or the palm.

4. *Installation of a Family Deity and its Shaman : A Case Study*

The following is a description of a ritual related to the installation of a family deity and a family shaman in a non-Brahmin household of high ritual status. Members of the household belong to an economically powerful jati group known as Beri-Chettiar. The group has its own Amman temples officiated by non-Brahmin priests, thus participating fully in the communal and shamanic cult institutions. But at the same time members of the group have built temples that come under the Brahmanical priestdom, and in some instances served as trustees of those temples. Males have the initiation ceremony of the twice-born. Although non-vegetarians in food habit, members strictly follow food tabus on certain days when they do not consume meat and have only one full meal ; the nadu veedu is purified every time after the cooking of non-vegetarian meals. Thus members of the group participate fully in the ecclesiastic cult institution also ; in other words, the familial cult institution incorporates several elements of the ecclesiastical cult institution.

The house in which the ritual occurred had an elaborate nadu veedu, indicative of the fact that various elements of the ecclesiastical institution were incorporated by the individualistic cult institution. The head of the household was once a successful merchant but had suffered several financial setbacks. A few members of the household were sick, and a son's marriage and the ear-piercing ceremonies of the other children were postponed. All these misfortunes were attributed to the non-performance of appropriate mortuary rites for a daughter who had met with an untimely death. It was believed that her spirit did not have a resting place and that proper rituals would make the spirit function as a family deity and thus prevent any more misfortunes in the family.

The services of two non-Brahmin priests were secured and the two sons of the merchant were prepared to receive her spirit. Special preparations were made in the nadu veedu for the installation of her spirit as a family deity. A large photograph of the girl was placed on the wall, and below it an altar (*pathi*) was built where a pot (*kalasam)* was decorated with neem leaves and flower garlands. The lamp called *kamatchi Amman vilakku* was placed on top of the pot. Cooked food and fruit were kept in front of the altar. The priests produced rhythmic music by drumming the tambourine (Udukkai) and tabla and by singing. They invoked the blessings of the community's goddesses, godlings and spirits and sought to receive a message from them through the steady burning of the lamp which served as the indicator of such a message.

The sons of the merchant were not possessed by the spirit of the deceased daughter ; neither of them fell into a trance. But the merchant's sister-in-law began to sway. Although she showed every indication of possession, there was doubt as to its genuineness, and she came out of the trance. As this was occurring, an unrelated woman in the audience was possessed by her familiar (not the spirit of the deceased girl) and the latter pointed out that a ritual item was missing on the altar. The priests sought forgiveness and gave the assurance that the ritual item would be procured ; the woman's possession was over.

Following these two episodes of possession, the merchant's wife began to show signs that her daughter's spirit had entered her. The priests were convinced of the genuineness and after a brief period of rapid singing and drumming they stopped and questioned the merchant's wife who she was, and she gave her daughter's name. Then the daughter, speaking through her mother, said that she had come to stay with them permanently and that she would protect everyone of the household. With further questioning, the daughter said that the merchant should go ahead with the arrangement of his son's marriage and of the ear-piercing ceremonies of the other children. In order to make sure that the spirit had come to be a family deity who could be invoked and called upon to the aid of the family, burning camphor was handed over to the merchant's wife and she swallowed it, thus confirming that the daughter's spirit had indeed become a family deity.

5. *Conclusion*

The familial cult institution is composed of rituals associated with shamanic, communal and ecclesiastical cult institutions. But the institution is distinguishable from the others in its having rituals that are of a specific nature, namely, ancestor worship, crisis rites, worship of family deity and having family shamans. Variations in the familial cult institution result from the members of different households participating in shamanic, communal and ecclesiastical institutions in varying degrees. Maximal or minimal participation in any of the three cult institutions, however, does not alter the status of the familial cult institution.

Rituals of the familial cult institution may correspond to the rituals of the other three institutions to a varying degree since household rituals are essentially selective adaptations; the existence of nadu veedu in the house insures the perpetuation of the familial cult institution, ritually separating one household from another; family deities and family shamans are adaptive units of the institution. Classification of Hindu household rituals as constituting the familial cult institution of Hinduism enables us to understand how the beliefs and rituals,

which are loosely called "Hindu", become differentially organized at the level of household, and also permits anlyses of the processes of religious adaptation as they occur in the village setting.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

The "Native" hits back

RECENTLY I attended two international conferences—"Conference on Urgent Ethnology" at Ottawa (December 2-6, 1974) and a symposium on "The Future of Anthropology in Melanesia" at the 46th Congress of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Sciences (ANZAAS) at Canberra (January 24, 1975). In both the meetings I was struck by the growing awareness among anthropologists that the various "aboriginal"/"tribal" groups who have so far been subjects of somewhat detached anthropological enquiry have attained a level of social-cultural-political awareness which poses special problems to the existing conventions of anthropological field research by exogenous scholars. It became apparent to many of the participants that beyond the accustomed frame of structural-functional analysis the focus of enquiry should be the dynamics of emerging-identities. The problem of establishing rapport in the field is also closely linked with the process of the search for new identity among the emerging endogenous elites. All over the world the hitherto non-literate people are vigorously involved in defining the contents and boundaries of their ethnic cultures in the modern world. In recent years there has also been a movement for evolving common platforms for safeguarding the interest of 'indigenous people' at the national and even international level. In a Preparatory Meeting of the International Conference of Indigenous People held in Georgetown, Guyana during April 8-11, 1974 aboriginal intelligentsia came from New Zealand, Australia, Scandinavia (Lapps), Greenland, U.S.A., Canada, Colombia and Guyana. The international movement of indigenous people are now propagating the concept of a "fourth world", a world outside the historic experience of literate civilizations and modern nation states.

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The above developments were kepts in view at the "Urgent Ethnology Conference" and it was recommended that ethnologists should report back to the host community in the most appropriate form and manner the results of their enquiries. It was also agreed that field work in any area should be based on equal participation by the informed indigens who should be seriously recognized as "colleagues" in understanding a human situation rather than as more "informants".

In this number of Man in India we have an article "Anthropology and Pacific Islands" by Epeli H'aufa, a Melanesian anthropologist. In this paper which was presented at the ANZAAS Congres, Haufa has highlighted the disappointment of the local Melanesian intellectuals with the conventional mode of analysis and portrayal of their society done by exogenous anthropologists. He writes: "Essentially, what the Pacific peoples expect of us is to be more of the noveli- and the social historian and less of the scientist whos peak jargons". In the same Congress Adrew Strathern of t University of Papua New Guinea suggested a way for estab shing credibility of the outside anthropologists among t indigenous intelligentsia: "Only indigenons people, Pap New Guineas themselves, can successfully play the more practical part of reviving and re-interpreting their own cultures. But each ethnographer, wherever he is from, can make a contribution by providing a range of writings for use outside of the pages of professional journals as well as within them."

I was reading a cyclostyled report "Should we allow research workers and tourists into the Enga district" by an indigenous intellectual Kudapen Talyaga (circulated by Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1974). In this paper we learn that in January 1973 a Culture Centre—"Laima Youth Cultural Centre"—was established at Aipura village with the aim of maintaining the traditional from of Enga "culture". In an informal meeting of the Centre on the 25th and 26th of September, 1974 the participant literate indigenous youth expressed their resentment about the exploitative nature of anthropological field research done among them by the outside anthropologists :

"People had to be used as informants. Although they like the few jingling coins for a day's interview, they say that they have wasted precious time that they should have spent in the gardens working. The money received does not, in any case, amount to a decent wage...The research workers come to our area and get all kinds of information. We think we have given them a lot ; our time, labour to build houses for them, because the Kiap (Europeans) told us to give, our firewood, our food, our house and, last of all, our knowledge. But how much have they given us ? The information they get benefit themselves only. Actually they contribute nothing to our social, and economic development of our area......"

In India also, the problem of awakening of the hitherto silent indigens is beginning to be felt by anthropologists. Pashupati Mahato, a Senior Fellow of the Anthropological Survey of India belonging to the local Kurmi-Mahato caste ("tribe" ?), has pointed out to me and to his other colleagues in the Survey that our understanding of the tribals and peasants of Purulia district has been heavily influenced and distorted by our exogenous upper caste stance. According to him, we have failed to bring into relief the exploitative pressures of the Brahmanic civilization on the indigens and to fully appreciate the meaning of their periodic rebellion. He was telling me that he and some of his colleaguts in Purulia were now thinking about setting up a Purulia District Social Science Council which should control the clearance of any exogenous research scholars intending to work in their district. They would like to scrutinize the planning, progress and results of the research projects. It has been stated that outside scholars, on account of their sketchy acquaintance with the region and its culture, tend to give a distorted image of the cultural patterns and their transformation among the indigens. They feel that it is high time that people who are fully conversant with the cultural milieu should be its primary analysts and interpreters.

Although some of us may find in this development the growing vested interest of indigenous intellectuals standing in between their own non-literate people and the wider world as

their sole interpreters, Indian anthropologists will have to seriously rethink about their frame of participation in research among the newly alerted indigenous population. It is indeed very reassuring to find that some Indian anthropologists have anticipated the development and have taken some forward moves towards new ways of participation in field research. Promode Misra, in his article "Anthropological field work: some awkward questions" (*Journal of the Indian Anthrépo-logical Society*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1174, pp 1-8) has sharply pointed out the exploitative nature of relationship between the anthropologists and their subjects of enquiry and has also emphasized the need for evolving a more comprehensive mode of participation of the "subjects" of enquiry in various phases of anthropological field research. Recently, in a cyclostyled note, "Development arrangement at stake : a survey among forest dwellers" (1975), Misra has pleaded for involvement of '' Jenu Kuruba, a hitherto food-gathering group, in all phase planning and implementing development programmes in ! region. B. K. Roy-Burmon has been practicing the art continuous dialogue with the emerging intelligentsia an. the various tribes of north-east India with a view to un. standing the problem of identity formation, maintenance and transformation. Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose used to carry such dialogues to the level of deep and direct confrontation with the tribal intellectuals about highly controversial issues like separatist movements.

But such awareness about the demands for playing a new role as social analysts is as yet a rare phenomenon among Indian anthropologists. I hope this short note will stimulate some of our colleagues to think afresh about the strategy and ethos of anthropological field work in different parts of India.

S. Sinha

BOOK REVIEWS

DIE ORAON von Matthias HERMANNS—*Wiesbaden—Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH-1973. pp. 420-DM 79.*

We have here Volume III of a series on the Religious-magical world-view of the primitive or aboriginal tribes in India. It is rightly dedicated to the grand old man, friend and benefactor of the aboriginals in India, Bishop O. Sevrin, S. J.

The scholarly studies of Sarat Chandra Roy on the Oraons do not go further than the year 1928. Much has happened since, and in the present changed circumstances a new study was needed, chiefly because so many recent influences have altered the way of life of the Oraons. This study of M. Hermanns is mainly about the Oraons of the former Raja-ruled states of Madhya Pradesh. M. H pays great attention to the reform movements among the Western Oraons and compares them with movements among the Oraons of the Ranchi District. Reform movements break out whenever the Oraons fear that their stable religious, social and economic structures and way of life are threatened. The aim of all these reforms is to render evil spirits harmless and to suppress witches who are the instruments of evil spirits.

The reforms described by S. C. Roy occurred chiefly in Bihar; but penetrated also among the Oraons of Madhya Pradesh. In the 'Introduction', the author summarizes the work of S. C. Roy and prolongs the description of the reform movements upto the present day. In the main body of the book are analysed the usual topics of such anthropological studies:

(1) Characteristics of the Oraons.

(2) Myths about their origin.

(3) Religion and Magic: Dharmes, good and evil spirits, veneration of Ancestor spirits, evil men, witches, tutelary spirits...

(4) Ministers of the cult.

(5) Life-cycle: youth, marriage, death.

(6) The cycle of the yearly seasonal events: New Year, Hunting, Sarhul, Karam, harvest feasts...

(7) Acculturation phenomena. Oraons of the Sunderbans.

(8) Appendix: Songs expressing the characteristics of the culture, life and religion of the Oraons.

Many will be thankful to M. Hermanns for the extensive new material he has gathered, even if not everybody will agree to all his interpretations.

A helpful bibliography, sober but solid and judicious, and 2[illegible] pages of excellent photographs conclude the volume

O. V.

Village Life in South India: Cultural Design and Environmental Variation *by Alan R. Beals; Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1974, pp. 189; Price $7.50.*

South India exhibits a wide range of cultural and environmental diversity. In this region a polyglot of empires have flourished, endured for centuries and then have collapsed and vanished, while the rural community has maintained, its cup of life unbroken through three thousand years. In the words of Beals, "The purpose of this book is to examine the kinds of relationship that exists between south Indian villages and the world around them in order to understand their successful persistance in an uncertain world".

The author has spent four years experiencing, observing and studying three south Indian villages—Elephant, Gopalpur and Namhalli of Mysore State, and his writing is based on an understanding of the ecological system of these villages.

The book is divided into eleven chapters. Chapter I gives a summary of the basic ideas about south India and the south Indian world view (*Dharma, Karma* and *Jati*). Beals finds the south Ind world view more ecologically or system oriented than the tional Western world view. Chapter II deals with the plan a structure of the three villages studied. In the following chapters the author describes agricultural technology agricultural ecology. In the chapter on agricultural ecology h suggested that, "Everywhere in South India men yoke ox their plows, but on closer examination the men, the oxen, and plows prove to be subtly different ..the form of the village and ecological system depends upon complex interactions between plans and realities" (p 19). He further suggests that a broader understanding of this simple relationship requires a more detailed knowledge of interactions among the kinds of people found in the village and the specific combination of environmental circumstances that they encountered.

In Chapter V the author attempts to delineate the mechanism that regulates and maintains an equilibrium between manpower requirements and population size in the village. He has tried to demonstrate that the production, care and feeding of the human population in an ecological system involves the maintenance of an appropriate distribution of types and varieties of people—old and young, male and female. The author has shown that the population size was attenuated by periodic catastrophic events like the Mysore War of 1780, famine of 1877, influenza epidemic of 1919—all these have produced sharp reduction in population in many parts of south India. It is, however, not clear how some of the social customs like, ceremonies and rituals during pregnancy, determination of sex, after care of the child and mother etc., described in the book may be systematically linked with the problem of population regulation in the three villages.

In the subsequent chapters the author deals with rules of bride selection and marriage in south India, intervillage relationship, economic exchange and village-government relationship. He has also discussed the shifting emphasis of religious institutions and rituals in Mysore villages and the impact of modernisation in the village life.

The author deserves all praise for making a pioneering attempt to unravel the complex nature of interrelationship between demography, customs and world view in the broader perspective of ecosystemic balance in three Indian villages Although the conclusions are tentative, they open new areas of enquiry in an appropriate frame.

P. Dash Sharma

Census of India 1961 : Soligaru (Scheduled Tribe of Mysore State), Volume 1, Ethnographic Study No 6 ; *Edited by A. M. Kurup and B. K. Roy Burman : Office of the Registrar General, India, New Delhi. pp. VII + 41, Photographs 10, Price Rs 1.75, 4s. 1d., $0.63.*

Census of India 1961 : Jenu Kuruba and Kudu (Betta) Kuruba (Scheduled Tribes of Mysore State), Volume 1, Ethnographic Study No. 8, *Edited by A. M. Kurup and B. K. Roy Burman, Office of the Registrar General, India, New Delhi. pp. IV + 56, Photographs 27, Price Rs. 3.75, 8s. 9d., $1.35.*

AND

Census of India 1961 : Thandan/Uraly (Scheduled Castes of Tamil Nadu), Volume 1, Ethnographic Study No. 10 ; *Edited by T. B. Bharati, A. M. Bharati, A. M. Kurup and B. K. Roy Burman, Office of the Registrar General, India, New Delhi. pp. IX – 23, Photographs 14, Price Rs. 1.50, 3s. 6d, $0.54.*

The ethnographic studies on the three little known scheduled tribes, Soligaru, Jenu Kuruba and Kadu Kuruba of Mysore State and one study on Thandan/Uraly—a scheduled caste community of Tamil Nadu, are welcome additions in the ethnographic study series of the Social Study and Handicrafts Unit of the Office of the Registrar General, India.

All these ethnographic reports have been prepared within the specified framework prescribed by the Registrar General's Office, which broadly covers various aspects like origin and history, family-clan etc., material culture, economic life, life cycle, religion etc., of the communities. These small monographs give standardized general information on the customs and practices of the above communities in a traditional ethnographic style. They will provide useful background information for organizing specialized research on these groups and can also be fruitfully utilised by administrators and social workers.

P. Dash Sharma

MAN IN INDIA

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INHERITANCE IN SOUTH INDIA : AN 'ANOMALOUS' CASE

GEOFFREY BURKHART

Abstract : This paper deals with the notion of *pangaali* (parallel kin) is south India. It examines an unusual claim on the property of maternal parallel kin in a Tamil group whose rule of inheritance is patrilineal. One man's attempt to gain wealth by equating maternal and paternal parallel categories is described ; and this case is used to raise a question about choice and the possibility of change which is generated internally in a society.

Introduction

MUCH attention has been given to the cross/parallel distinction in the study of Dravidian kinship, usually in writing concerned with marriage alliance and therefore dwelling on the complementary relation of cross and parallel categories. When parallel kin have been considered alone, preponderant attention has been given to their significance on the side, patrilateral in most cases, through which property is inherited and along which succession in other senses usually flows. This focus is found both in the work of anthropologists influenced by Levi-Strauss and of those influenced by Radcliffe-Brown. Whatever their other differences, both approaches emphasize lineal constructs and groupings.[1] The notion "parallel kin" includes, of course, both patrilateral and matri-

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lateral kin, but due to this general focus on 'lineage' and a concomitant concern with exogamy, parallel kin on the 'unstressed' side have either been neglected or inadequately accounted for.[2]

It is not my concern in this paper to comment on the theoretical issues arising from the use of the cross parallel distinction. Instead, I present here a case which involves one aspect of the relationship between matrilateral parallel cousins among a 'patrilineal' group in south India.[3] In this case a claim is made by one man on the property of another to whom he is related by a matrilateral parallel tie. Any view of the agnatic property-holding group in terms of 'lineage' assigns the case at hand to the category of an anomaly (if not to dis crepancies in field notes). My argument will be that this case should not be dismissed as structurally aberrant (though one may argue that it is culturally so) ; instead, it, and cases like it,[4] can throw a great deal of light on the problem of shifts within structural systems. I return to these remarks in the conclusion of the paper.

The following discussion has three parts. First I mention certain aspects of the patterning of indigenous concepts having to do with kinship and inheritance, taking special note of the relationship between the concepts of male co-heirs and of male agnates. Along with this discussion of cultural context, I also note the relevant structurally significant norms, and I introduce certain details of the 'anomalous' case. Secondly, I discuss briefly the situation of the man centrally involved in the case. Thirdly, I conclude with comments on the implications of the case for understanding alternative modes of inheritance and of the significance of cases of this sort for recognizing processes of change.

I. *Cultural and Structural Context*

I was led initially to raise the question of the significance of the ties of matrilateral parallel cousins after hearing a discussion of a peculiar claim made by one man on the property of a non-agnate. Before presenting certain details of the case,

it is necessary to summarize the cultural and structural contexts within which the claim was advanced.

A. *Udayars and Their Patrilineal Idiom*

The Udayar caste is widely scattered in northern Tamil Nadu. Those Udayars I speak of in this paper are of Nattamar subcaste, and they live in a village of Salem District. Udayars employ several concepts which can be generalized to be spoken of as a patrilineal ideology. Most significant in this respect is their use of *parambarai* by which Udayars refer in general to succession from father to son. The rule of inheritance of property is prtrilineal, and it applies importantly to immovable property : cultivable land, grazing land, produce-bearing trees, threshing floors, field and domestic wells, dwellings and dwelling sites. (Hereafter the words "property" and "land" are to be taken to refer to immoveable property.) Persons who are co-heirs, that is, the full set of agnates having rights in patrimonial property, are referred to as *pangaali* The relationships of co heirship and of agnation are frequentl spoken of by Udayars as if they were identical.[5] The terr *pangaali* is freely substituted for kin terms when referring t male agnates. For example, when in the context of a di cussion about kin ties an Udayar is asked about the relation o. two men, he is just as likely to respond with the statement that they are *pangaali* as to say that they are brothers or the like.[6]

B. *Women's Rights in Land*

Pangaali, then, are patrilateral kin, further restricted by sex, since women are not referred to by this term. This statement is consistent with practice since women do not hold title to property by virtue of inheritance. Women, however, are not ignored when property rights are in question. It is said that daughters have a claim on property controlled by their fathers, and the rationalization follows that they receive their 'share' (*pangu*) when the rather considerable expenses of marriage, including the provision of gold jewelry, are met by their fathers. (The preponderance of marriage expenses are met by the groom's rather than the bride's father, however.)

Brothers have more than a nominal interest in arranging suitable marriages for their sisters as well as in making a proper demonstration of wealth and prestige on the occasion of marriage ceremonies. The pattern of marriage exchanges tends towards symmetry, and this *implies that brothers and sisters are committed to arranging marriages among their respective offspring. In addition, there are numerous financial obligations of mother's brothers to their sisters' son and* daughters.

A daughter may make manifold claims on domestic group resources only until the time of her marriage. After that she can make fewer, limited claims such as for hospitality and gifts for herself and her husband on festive occasians, for support during confinement before the birth of her first child especially, and for certain prestations of valuable ornaments to be made by her brother to her child. These claims are usually pressed only for the birth of the first child and during the first year or two of marriage. Thus, after marriage and particularly after the birth of a child, a woman becomes more and more separated from ties of economic obligation and cooperation with her natal kin. If her husband predeceases her, she is entitled to full support form the members of his domestic group, and she may be assigned the produce of a share in her husband's land as a means for her support. Upon her death, however, these rights of usufruct revert to her husband's sons or others of his *pangaali*. The recognition by a man's agnates of their obligations to his widow in no way qualifies the force of norms regarding rights of use and ownership vested in agnates. These issues have been succinctly summarized by Maine as follows :

> It was at one time common to speak of a widow's estate as being one for life. But this was wholly incorrect. It would be just as true to speak of the estate of the father........as being one for life. Hindu law knew nothing of estates for life......A Hindu widow is entitled to the full beneficial enjoyment of the estate. So long as she is not guilty of wilful waste, she is answerable to no one......The restrictions upon the use of an estate inherited by a woman are

similar in kind to those which limit the powers of a male holder but different in degree. The distinctive feature of the estate is that, at her death, it reverts to the heirs of the last male owner... · She never becomes a fresh stock of descent (Chandrasekhara *Aiyar 1953 : 753, references to notes omitted).*

These summary statements regarding Hindu Mitakshara Law in general conform closely to Udayar practice. Two points bear emphasis. First is that women do not participate fully, either as daughters or as wives, in the agnatic property-holding group. Second, we are not concerned in any way with matrilineal descent.

C. Pangaali *on the Mother's Side*

In considering the significance of *pangaali,* I have so far dealt only with agnatic kin It is critical to note that Udayars use the term *pangaali* to refer to parallel relatives on th maternal side ; but, presumably inheritance of property is an issue between patrilateral and matrilateral *pangaali.* male parallel cousins are *pangaali*, both father's brothers' . and mother's sisters' sons (both primary and classificat Terminologically these persons are all 'brothers', demonstra the same consistency with the category *pangaali* as we ha seen is true for agnatic 'brothers' Udayars do conventionally distinguish between patrilateral and matrilateral *pangaali,* however, by referring to the latter category as *taay vari pangaali.*[7] This means literally *pangaali* by way of (*vari*) the mother (*taay*) (cf. Dumont 1957b ; 185 ; Yalman 1967 : 286).[8] The anomalous case, now to be described, involves a link through *taay vari pangaali*. In it a claim on the land of one agnatic group is being made by a member of another. The details are as follows.

Kuppu, who had recently died, had no son of his own as heir (his property was inherited by his adopted son, his daughter's child). In addition, he had no brothers and no other living agnatic *pangaali* since the members of a junior collateral line, the offspring of his father's brother, had also died heirless. In such a situation, I was told, had no adoption

taken place, a portion of Kuppu's property would have passed to Pacha, Kuppu's wife's sister's son, and rights of usufruct in another portion would have passed to Kuppu's daughter (assuming, it seems, that Kuppu's daughter's sons could succeed to a share). The reasons given for the succession by Pacha are that Pacha's mother and Kuppu's wife are sisters (possibly full siblings or close classificatory sisters) and that both women "come from the same house" *(uudu)*.[9] The first reason points out the parallel relation of sisters and thereby of their offspring who would be *taay vari pangaali*. Pacha, thus, becomes a rightful heir in the absence of primary claims by sons of Kuppu who would have been Pacha's *taay vari pangaali*. Just as primary rights of inheritance are activated according to what we may designate as patrilateral parallelism, secondary or residual rights in this case seem to be recognized in the identical parallelism but of matrilateral order.[10]

The second reason given by the informant refers to membership of the two women in the same aguatic group, the same "house". This suggests a second resemblance to agnatic heirship, since a man's land devolves first to his sons and only secondarily, i e., in the absence of sons, to other *pangaali*. In the case of brothers and of the particular pair of sisters mentioned above, a defining criterion is their membership in the same "house". Thus, what is significant about the relation between the sisters is that they are agnates. Their matrifilial ties are irrelevant in this case (as are the matrifilial ties of male agnates, assuming that all marriages have been within the caste) in regard to the transmission of property rights.

D. *Preliminary Summary*

My argument is that patrilateral and *taay vari pangaali* are in a sense in an identical relationship in regard to inheritance. They are all 'brothers', and 'brothers' jointly share in the inheritance of their fathers. One advantage of looking at inheritance from this perspective is that it becomes necessary to justify the use of the terms "primary" and "secondary" or "residual" modes of inheritance, which I have used in connection with the *taay vari pangaali* claim. Such a usage is justified when we recognize that we are dealing with the conjunc-

tion of the logic of a set of cultural categories on the one hand and a set of structural norms on the other. (I am not, of course, directly concerned here with questions of the incidence of claims.) The stress on links between male agnates is, from an external point of view, the expression of a sort of preference, even though internally it may have the force of an axiom or canon of Udayar culture. We see a consistent, customary stressing of the father-son link (embodied in the critical notion of succession, *parambarai*). There is, by contrast, little of jural nature in regard to property in mother-son links. Since, in the case at hand, there is no father-son link through which the filiative mechanism operates, another link is made use of, which in this sense produces a residual or lower order claim. Claims of *taay vari pangaali* do not supersede those of actual daughters, since daughters of sonless men are said to be entitled to a portion of the estate to be passed to their sons (I they do supersede claims of classificatory daughters).

A further understanding of this case can be gained noting that Muttu and his wife reacted with amusement w

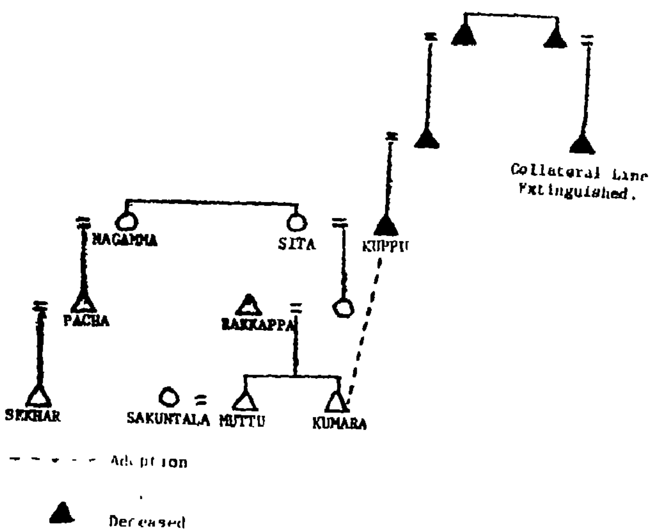


Figure 1. Claim on property through the *Taay Vari Pangaali* Relationship.

I questioned them about the claim through *taay vari pangaali* ties which had been voiced by Pacha's son, Sekhar. Of comparative interest is an incident similarly found amusing by many villagers which occurred during my stay there. The rule of residence for all groups is virilocal, and in the great majority of cases practice accords with the rule. The marriage ceremony is customarily conducted in the home of the bridegroom. I observed one marriage, however, which was held in the home of the bride, the groom having come from another village. (In this case, the caste was not Udayar.) This was clearly a peculiar and remarkable event. Normally, when a bride arrives from another village a large number of people turn out to judge for themselves the merits of the girl. In this case, when the music signalled the approach of the weeding party, the question was asked, "Has the *groom* arrived ?", and was answered by many with mischievous snickering.

The removal of a daughter to her husband's house at marriage is a stressful event to the girl's parents in particular. While the birth of sons ensures that parents will be cared for in old age and their funeral rites properly conducted, the birth of daughters is said to occasion delight The departure of a girl from her home is thus marked with poignancy, and it is the contrast with this that provoked amusement at the procession of the groom.

While there is no intrinsic relation between the holding of the marriage ceremonies at the groom's house and virilocal residence, it is reasonable to assume that there is an association of a psychological or sentimental order between the two elements by virtue of their conjunction in local tradition. In the same way, we have seen that property is normally transferred from father to son. Such succession is expressed, as I have argued, not only in a consistent structural framework but also in a local cultural one which assigns preference within the structural framework to one alternative rather than another. When this preference is contravened, the issue of the appropriateness of the alternative mode is raised. We would expect that the pressing of claims based on matrilateral

links occurs extremely rarely and that they would always be felt to be inappropriate.

II. Situation

This case is the only one of its kind to come to my attention. At the time I heard of it I considered it to be anomalous because, as I have noted, some of my informants did. In addition to being amused by it, they interpreted it as a cleverly plausible but doubtless ineffective taunt. A further look at some of the details of the case will show why this should be so.

For several months the families of Sekhar and of Muttu were living as separate households within a single residence originally owned by Muttu's mother's father, Kuppu. Sekhar was at this time Acting Village Headman, due to the illness of the regular Headman, his father's brother. In 1961 Sekhar had married a woman of whom his family had disapproved His marriage caused a rift in his family, and this accounts fo his maintaining a separate household even though his father i the active head of a large domestic group including two o Sekhar's married brothers. The house that Sekhar and Muttu shared had been obtained by Muttu by informal agreement with his brother, Kumara, who lived in a neighboring village. Kumara, though Kuppu's daughter's son in genealogical terms, had been adopted by Kuppu as his son and heir. Sekhar paid monthly rent to Muttu for use of part of the house. Sekhar, who was considered by some villagers to be shrewd and something of an opportunist, claimed that he was going to take a part of the patrimony of Muttu's mother's father, Kuppu. Why ? Because he was *pangaali*, i.e., *taay vari pangaali*. Had it not been for the accident of the co-residence of Sekhar and Muttu, it is most unlikely that this claim would ever have been advanced.[11] In view of the adoption of Kumara by Kuppu, however, Sekhar's taunting claim was looked upon with additional amusement by Muttu, and it was clear that Sekhar would not be able to press his claim successfully.

III. Conclusion

The argument advanced above is in part based upon assumptions about the propriety of certain actions being determined by their being a part of a local, cultural tradition. It is this reasoning which I have used to explain, for example, the amusement which close kin of the legitimate heir, Kumara, looked upon the claim based on a *taay vari pangaali* tie. The basic point is that claims are advanced through parallel (and never cross) relationships. Thus, in the example given, Kuppu's land could never be inherited by a brother of his wife. This case reveals a fundamental principle of transmission of rights in property, namely that parallel relationships are the channels through which legitimate claims may be made and that parallel relationships reckoned through male siblings take precedence over those traced through female siblings. As the case suggests, in practice men without sons usually adopt a close kinsman as son and heir and the issue of rights of *taay vari pangaali* does not normally arise. This case, therefore, is exceptional in the sense that it is a situation which only quite rarely arises ; it is not, however, structurally anomalous. It simply runs counter to a cultural preference, the outcome of a series of choices 'allowable' within the structural framework I would suggest that it is within cases such as this that we may find clues to the forces and mechanisms of subtle, long-range change which is generated internally to a society.

NOTES

1. This is perhaps obvious for 'descent theory' though less so for 'alliance theory' ; see Scheffler's critque of Levi-Strauss (1970 : 251) and Dumont's concern with the distinction between "line" and "lineage" (1957a : 4).
2. For example, Dumont says,

   > While the paternal half is stressed to the point of becoming almost equivalent to the whole, the maternal half appears, except in special cases, as temporary, subsidiary, almost conventional (1957a : 27).

   Yalman discusses usefully a variety of explanations, rejecting among others, those based on notions of lineage exogamy

(1962 : 560-563). Arguments of this sort continue to be advanced, however, e.g., Beck's explanation in terms of "metaphorical usage" (1972 : 220).

3. A version of this paper was presented at the 72nd annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, 1973. Fieldwork, financed by a Junior Fellowship of the American Institute of Indian Studies, for which I wish to express my gratitude, was carried out in Salem District, Tamil Nadu, 1965-67.

4. I am reminded of another 'anomaly', a Burman who was both Shan and Kachin. My method owes something to Leach's analysis (1954 : 2).

5. Such usage appears general in Tamil Nadu (see Beck 1972 ; Dumont 1957a : 17 ; 1957b : 27).

6. A similar convergence of the notion of heir with that of agnate is shown in the term *sondam*, which includes both the idea of property and that of relatives, the latter usuall emphasizing agnatic relations (cf. Dumont 1950 : 6). I the former sense *sondam* is used as equivalent to *sottu*, referring to both moveable and immoveable propert (*Sottu* is never used to refer to kin.)

7. *Pangaali*, thus, is used both in general for parallel kin and for paternal parallel kin, a specific subset of the former. The meaning is made clear according to context. Dumont remarks (1) that maternal parallel kin are recognized as such by Pramalai Kallar, but gives no special term for the category (1957b : 277) and (2) suggests that *udan-pangaali* or *udandaikkaarar* (from *udan*, immediate, together ; *kaarar*, person) appears to be used for close paternal parallel cousins (1957b : 173).

8. I am told that *taay vari pangaali* is also used to distinguish the relation of full siblings, *kundapirandavar*, those who are born together, from that of children of different mothers but the same father. I have not heard the phrase used in this way in conversation.

9. My informants were Muttu and Sakuntala (see Figure 1) ; the quotation is from Muttu. It is unlikely that this claim was being advanced on the basis of an alternative reckoning

of kinship (brought about, for example, by a marriage in the recent past of two persons who belong to kin categories between which marriage is prohibited; I found no such marriages among Udayars).

10. To refer again to the Pramalai Kallar, Dumont notes that descendents of two sisters are considered to be brothers (*freres*), but that they are "*'freres classificatoires ou par convention' muReikki pangaali*" (1957b ; 185 ; cf. 1950 : 14). The Pramalai Kallar conceive of this relation, *cagalan padi pangaali, pangaali* by way of *cagalan*, as deriving from that of the husbands of two sisters, *cagalan*. (Thus there is no ideology of matrilineal lines.) This fits with the implication of Dravidian terminology in which affines of affines are terminological kin (Dumont 1957b : 185). Male affines of affines, then, are also potential *pangaali*, at least terminologically so. I know of no case where persons of this third kind of *pangaali* relationship have advanced claims on each other's property.

11. Dumont notes that among the Pramalai Kallar the *cagalan padi pangaali* relation is quickly forgotten (1957b : 185-186). His discussion of a specific case of *cagalan* ties turns upon a similar accident of residence. He says,

> [Il] aurait probablement oublié la relation qui l'unit aux descendents du sagalan de son grand-pere, mais ils se trouve qu'ils sont domestiques chez son pere (1957b . 186 ; cf. 1957a : 27).

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THE CLOSED CORPORATE COMMUNITY IN SOUTH ASIA[1]

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Abstract : In recent years there has been a tendency to equate the closed corporate community with pre-industrial or "classical" peasant societies and to consider the open community as a necessary correlate of the early stages of economic and political modernization. However, evidence from Nepal, which still retains many attributes of a traditional pre-industrial state, indicates that those characteristics ascribed to open as well as closed communities have existed for many years. In order to illustrate how these apparent contradictions are realized, the rural societies of Nepal and feudal Europe are compared.

Introduction

THIS study of Tinglatar, a rural agricultural village in eastern Napal, calls into question current theoretical models for peasant communities.[2] According to the economic factors upon which present typological analyses of peasant communities are primarily based, Tinglatar should be a closed corporate community. However, other-than-economic factors at work in Tinglatar negate the predictive validity of general peasant community typologies, or strongly suggest that in order to maintain their validity, provision must be made for consideration of non-economic "state-of-mind" factors as an integral part of the definition of peasants.

Among the most widely accepted typologies of peasant communities today is that adopted by Eric Wolf. In this scheme closed corporate communities are distinguished from open communities in that the former maintain a body of corporate rights to possessions such as land ; they put

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pressure on members to redistribute surpluses, preferably in the operation of a religious system, and induce them to content themselves with the rewards of "shared poverty"; they strive to prevent outsiders from becoming members of the community, and place limits on members' communication with the larger society (1957 : 2). The peasants' needs are met by systems which are organizationally and culturally distinct from other marketing systems within the larger society to which they belong (Wolf 1957 : 4; 1955 : 457 ff.). Basically, the corporate community is conceived of as a closed system which functions "to equalize the life chances and life risks of its members". (Wolf 1957 : 12). In contrast, open peasant communities are non-corporate at the community level, relatively dependent on larger economic systems, socially extraverted, and culturally open. The open community, then, emphasizes continuous interaction with the outside world and ties its fortunes to outside demands. It permits and exp individual accumulation and display of wealth and allows new wealth much influence in the reshaping of social Wolf sees the open community as a straight forward resp to "the rising demand for cash which accompanied development of capitalism in Europe" (1955 : 462).

It has become commonplace to equate the closed corpora peasant community with the traditional villages of premodern agrarian society and to see the development of the open community as a necessary correlate of the early stages of economic and political modernization (cf. Befu 1967 : 610; Adams 1965 : 264-265). For example, Diaz and Potter in their reader on peasant societies state :

> These bipolar types can in part be related to social change in the modern world : the closed community is probably more characteristic of classical peasant societies as they existed before modernization whereas the open community characterizes societies which are in the process of modernizing and industrializing (1967 : 163).

G. William Skinner protests against this type of assumption and suggests that open as well as closed peasant communities existed in pre-modern China.[3] Thus, peasant communities in

traditional China were normally open, but followed a cyclical trend whereby they changed from relatively open to relatively closed and back again. The degree of closure depended upon the relative strength of the central government. Consequently, when the state was strong the communities were open, but with the progressive decline of the central government's powers the local community closed up as disorder and chaos spread into the countryside. As a new dynasty became established, peace and order were restored and new opportunities developed outside the village. "In response, local communities opened up again, relaxing first the coercive aspects of their closure, then the economic, and finally the normative" (Skinner 1971 : 279).

Confusion surrounding the status of the closed corporate peasant community stems from the assumption that there is a natural progresssion from a closed to an open community, while the assumptions inherent in the typology itself tend to be accepted unquestionably. However, many peasant communities can in fact be culturally open and yet retain their corporate structure (cf. Keatinge 1973 : 401-41). The dilemma is reminiscent of the problem raised by Redfield's folk-urban continuum formulation when phenomena were frequently forced into the classification rather than the typology modified to fit the date (cf. Beals 1961 : 8 ff ; Foster 1967 : 4). This sort of procedure leads to defining ideal types in terms of each other, so that either pole is simply an exclusive class with respect to the other. In fact, we are likely not to be dealing with two different kinds of things at all, nor consequently with any unitary process of change from one state to another (cf. Lehman 1964 : 390). Peasant social structures are multivaried and there may be too many environmental and other variables involved for any simplistic bi-polar classification scheme to work. In sum, the concept of the closed corporate peasant community, like Redfield's concept of a folk-society, may lead to misinterpretation and confusion rather than a clarification of the place of peasantry in pre-industrial societies.

In the community examined here, the corporate structue exists although the community itself is not, according to Wolf's

criteria, culturally closed. In fact, it might be said that the corporate community structure functions as a means of maxi. mizing the villagers' benefits from contacts with the outside world, especially the Nepali Government. Nor are those features of closure which do occur enforced simply to ensure that the community is socially and culturally isolated from the larger society in which it exists (cf. Wolf 1957 : 5). Rather, they also serve to improve the villagers' status *vis-a-vis* the Nepali Government in order to retain access to important resources, primarily land.

The Corporate Structure of Tinglatar

Tinglatar's social system is of Hindu Indian origin and is characterized by the division of society into a hierarchy of castes aligned in the traditional Hindu manner. The village itself contains members of the Brahmin (population 256) and Bhujel (population 90) castes. The latter were the slaves o' the Brahmins until 1926 Hindu socity as conceived o: both Brahmins and Bhujels consists of the "twice-bo Brahmin-Chetri castes at the top, the *matwali* (drinki castes in the middle, and the untouchable, artisan caste the bottom. The Bhujels, after their emancipation by t government, have been considered a *matwali* caste and a ritually, politically, and economically subordinate to the Brahmins. Both castes speak Nepali, a language historically related to Sanskrit.

Because of certain environmental pressures impinging upon the community of Tinglatar, according to Wolf's criteria we should expect to find a social system which exhibits those characteristics he attributes to the closed corporate community. In this particular case, these environmental factors include a social order dominated by a paleotechnic adaptation on the part of the peasantry, coupled with a prebendal form of domain ; sectional market system ; location on marginal land ; overpopulation and scarcity of cultivatable land (Wolf 1955 : 457-459 ; 1957 : 9, 12 ; 1966a : 15-16, 48-51, 82-90). Under these circumstances, Wolf maintains the closed corporate community will develop or persist primarly as a defense against

the exploitative nature of the larger society in which the peasantry do not command the requisite resources to participate (1957 : 8-9 ; 1966a : 15-17, 48, 82, 86). In Tinglatar's case, however, the situation is more complex. On the one hand, Tinglatar resembles a closed corporate community in that its membership is restricted, its lands are corporately managed to the extent that their sale to outsiders is prohibited, a "levelling" mechanism exists, only members of the community may participate in its civil-religious hierarchy, and politically it acts as a unit. On the other hand, Tinglatar's social system does not exhibit all those features of closure Wolf ascribes to the closed corporate community : it does not "discourage close participation of members in the social relations of the larger society", nor does it "uphold barriers against the entry of goods and ideas produced outside the community" (1957 : 2, 6). On the contrary, considerable effort is expended to obtain an education or employment outside the village. Persons successful in their quest for employment beyond the community boundaries are not rejected by the community as Wolf maintains, but admired as its most respected and cleverest members (cf. 1966b : 11-14). Certainly too, goods and new ideas originating outside the community have not been rejected outright by Tinglatar's residents. For example, within the past 30 years the following changes have been introduced and embraced by the villagers : sacrifices have been discontinued, child marriages eliminated, wheat planted, a primary school constructed at the villagers' expense, the *panchayat* system successfully launcued, and several expriments conducted with new strains of rice and corn. Such innovations have virtually affected every major sphere of the villagers' socio-economic life.

Evidence also suggests that Tinglatar's corporate structure as well as its propensity to maintain important contacts within the larger society have persisted for several generations. For example, Tinglatar's Brahmins were given a land grant by the Nepali Government approximately 180 years ago and control over this land has been retained by the patrilineal descendants of the original settlers. In Wolf's terms, the village has acted

like a corporation maintaining a perpetuity of rights and obligations (1957 : 2). Furthermore, Tinglatar's history is replete with examples whereby this land was retained or expanded by the community's ability to wield considerable influence in the Nepali Government's judicial system.

A basic problem with regard to Wolf's model stems from his linkage of the twin concepts of corporateness and closure. In order to understand the social system existent in Tinglatar, an alternative analysis seems necessary, that is, one in which the community's corporate structure does not depend upon the maintenance of the feature of closure *vis-a-vis* the larger society. Following this perspective, the corporate structure may be viewed in terms of its adaptation to a particular set of of environmental variables. With regard to Tinglatar it would appear that three such variables have proven of utmost importance ; the threat to its lands posed by surrounding villages, the power held by the community's own elite, a more recently, an increasing population pressure upon land. Historically, the two greatest threats to the "avera villager's existence (i.e., land base) originated from encircling communities and the considerable power held Tinglatar's headman (*talukdar*). The "closed" corpor community organization enabled the ordinary villager (as opposed to the *talukdar* and a few wealthy householders) to protect his interests against these two threatening forces.

Under the traditional administrative system the channels of communications between the central government and Tinglatar were dominated by the *talukdar*, usually a comparatively wealthy and literate villager appointed by the District Revenue Office. Within Tinglatar this position was held by one Brahmin household for at least the past 80 years and its jurisdication extended over an area slightly larger than the present village boundaries. Besides collecting taxes, the *talukdar* was responsible for the general maintenance of law and order and could levy fines or recommend imprisonment if necessary. He also maintained the only comprehensive records of land ownership and could repossess tax delinquent property as well as resell it to the highest bidder. Although much of the

talukdar's power stemmed from the authority granted to him by the national government, it also derived from his ability to write and interpret official documents. Even those villagers who were functionally literate still could not understand the formal Sanskritic script and vocabulary favored by officialdom. As payment for his services the *talukdar* received a stipulated percentage of the taxes collected and could demand five days labor annually from each household under his jurisdiction. Most important insofar as Tinglater was concerned, the *talukdar* consistently supplemented his income by taking undue advantage of his official position. Consequently, his household was by far the wealthiest in the village. A similar pattern occurred throughout rural Nepal where widespread illiteracy, especially among the lower castes, created a climate conducive to exploitation (cf. Regmi 1963 : 138-139, 174 ; Melford 1966 : 9-10 ; Caplan 1970 : 8).

The Tinglatar *talukdars'* most profitable source of illegal income was manipulation of land and tax records whereby others were dispossessed of their lands. The last *talukdar* aided by his son's presence as a scribe in the District Court, was particularly successful in this respect. Nevertheless, in order to retain some measure of local support, even this man, directed his manipulations against persons outside Tinglatar and shared his spoils with his fellow villagers. For example, in 1957, the Tinglatar *talukdar* expanded his holdings in the highlands directly above the village. By amending the tax records for that pasture which lay under his jurisdiction, yet belonged to a nearby lower-caste village, he made it appear that the taxes had not been paid for several years. He then declared the land to be tax delinquent property and after paying the tax himself, "sold" the land to himself and others in Tinglatar. Although the rightful owners took the case to the District Court the *talukdar's* influence was overwhelming (due partly to his son's presence as a court scribe) and they lost the dispute. Today this land is utilized by everyone in Tinglatar either as a place for cutting fodder or for maintaining their livestock during the summer months.

Although Tinglatar's residents expect their leaders to treat

them fairly within the moral code of the community, they do not expect these same persons to treat outsiders in an identical fashion. Thus, Tinglatar's *talukdar* have not been censored by the villagers as a result of their depredations against persons living outside the community, but on the contrary, rather admired and encouraged. From the villagers' standpoint the best defense of their lands against the surrounding communities consisted of an effective offense. And the *talukdar* not only gained their respect, but new wealth as well. The only lieu which the villagers do hold on the accumulated new wealth is that some of it be redistributed. Hence, everyone was given access to the pasture purloined by the last *talukdar.* Those households who do not cooperate in this fashion with their fellow villagers will be formally ostracized and their women branded as witches. The guilty persons are excluded from Tinglatar society with the pronouncement that they are "*baheshkar gareko*" (prohibited) and, from that point onw no one is allowed to communicate with them in any ma whatsoever. In a community of personalistic relations this penalty has always proved such a severe censure that offenders have "voluntarily" emigrated and, within the 30 years, at least six relatively wealthy householders, includ a former *talukdar*, have permanently left after being formally excluded. The villagers themselves realize that their elite are most susceptible to being outcast, or as they phrase it, "Rich persons are like a big tree that the wind hits hard." One such example, which occurred during the period of research, involved a wealthy Brahmin householder who had refused to distribute grain during a time of famine. Consequently, he was totally ignored or, at best, publicly ridiculed. Although he intended to emigrate, he could not sell his property as the villagers could not afford to buy his fields (due to famine conditions) and would not allow an outsider to purchase them. In effect, the Brahmin outcast was forced to wait until the community had accumulated enough cash to purchase them—probably at a rate considerably below that which would be determined by a "free" market.

In brief, the corporate structure in Tinglatar may be

viewed as a means for consolidating power by the peasantry in order to retain access to scarce resources, primarily land. Often, in this way, some degree of control could be exerted over the community's own elite and, through them, access maintained to critical sources of power outside the community itself. In the past 80 years, at least 14 cases have been recorded whereby Tinglatar's landholdings were increased through its residents' manipulation of the government's judicial system under the leadership of the local *talukdar*. Conversely, the surrounding communities' claims (legitimate and illegitimate) on Tinglatar's territory have been totally blocked by following the same procedure Although concern with maintaining accsss to land has probably provided a focal point for Tinglatar's corporate structure, other advantages also accrued to the ordinary householder. Thus, Tinglatar's leaders have contributed generously to the community's socio-religious activities and have not charged fellow villagers for writing out land deeds or for any other business which must be processed at the District Revenue Office. Similarly, the *talukdar* traditionally acted as guarantors for fellow villagers so they may obtain credit or low-interest loans at the shops in the district center. Few, if any, of these services would be provided for persons living outside Tinglatar. When viewed in this perspective, it is obvious that Tinglatar has not isolated itself from the outside world, even though its corporate structure has been retained. On the contrary, its corporate structure is both a cause and effect of its ability to communicate effectively with the larger society.

Caste And The "Closed" Community

Tinglatar's adherence to a Brahmanic way of life also gives it the appearance of a "closed" community. However, this aspect of closure is not enforced simply to ensure the community's isolation from the larger society in which it exists, but enables the residents of Tinglatar to maintain superior relations with the outside world *vis-a vis* the lower castes or non-Hindu elements Hence, although relations with lower castes or non-Hindu ethnic groups may be kept at a minimum, the villagers'

contacts with governmental agencies have, in general, been favored by their high caste position.

The caste system, then, plays a unique role in integrating rural Nepal into the national society, and thus in preventing communities such as Tinglatar from fitting the closed corporate community model. The sort of integrational roles played respectively by the Hindu caste system in South Asia and the feudal aristocracy of Medieval Europe in particular show both similarities and striking contrasts. In the following discussion, the peculiar nature of the caste system will be delineated through a comparison of these two hierarchical modes of integration.

The European feudal social order was pyramidal. At the apex was the king, and emanating from this center was a noble class reaching not simply outward but, in terms of rank and status, downward. As George Dalton points out, there were two principal kinds of relationships in feudalism ; th relationship between the king and his landholding no warriors (barons and earls), and those between the landhold noble-warriors (or church estates) and their rank-and peasants. In return for the nobles' military service and polit allegiance, the king gave grants of land (fiefs) which were, turn, subsequently parcelled out and used by the peasantry. The latter, in return for the use of the land and the lord's protection, gave their feudal masters labor service, goods and taxes, as well as political and military support (1972 : 390).

The peasants were legal, political, social, and economic inferiors in Medieval Europe (Bloch 1961 : 289 ; Dalton 1972 : 390-391 : Sayles 1964 : 204). Sumptuory regulations, oppressive labor and taxation policies, exclusion from holy orders, restrictions on mobility or even marriage outside the manor, and a commitment to an agricultural way of life all contributed toward their status as a despised class (Pirenne 1937 : 62-67 ; Bloch 1966 : 88-89 ; 1961 : 253-258 ; Hilton 1966 : 129). The peasant's place in society was defined by his subjection to another man, his lord. Basically, even if he were a free peasant, he still needed the lord's protection and was subject to many of the same conditions as a serf (Bloch 1961 : 265 ;

Pirenne 1937 : 12, 62 ; Hilton 1966 : 128). Most important, in so far as the peasantry's relationships with the wider society were concerned, was the extent to which the lords exercised power through the local courts. As tenants of a manor, the peasantry did not have access to the royal courts, but were subject to the manorial court which was controlled by their lord (Hilton 1966 : 74, 227 ; Pirenne 1937 : 63 ; Bloch 1966 : 77, 102, 133 ; Homans 1960 : 229, 284, 319). In contrast to their lord, the tenants of a manor very rarely had any contact with governmental authorities (cf. Bloch 1961 : 257). The closed corporate community, then, was a logical development in Europe where the peasants were tied to specifically localized communities. For the peasantry, the manor constituted an economic, social, religious, and jurisdictional unit. The nobles, on the other hand, identified socially with their counterparts in other areas and had little social intercourse with "their own" peasants (cf. Homans 1960 : 229 ; Hilton 1966 : 161).

The caste system in Nepal is part of a social order of a different sort. Instead of relegating high *de jure* status to an aristocracy which constituted a tiny fraction of the total population, the highest position in the social order, in terms of rank and status, is accorded to the numerous members of the "twice-born" (ritually clean) castes. These castes (Brahmin and Chetri) are the only ones which are initiated into adulthood with the ceremony of investure with the sacred thread indicating their spiritual rebirth. They are therefore said to be "twice-born" and possessed of the knowledge necessary to an adult man of high caste It is estimated that about 45% of the total population in Nepal consists of members of the "twice-born" castes (Bista 1967 : 1-2). The organization of the Nepali social order is then also pyramidal, but differs from Medieval European society in that a much larger percentage of the total population is accorded aristocratic status. Diagramatically the two social systems may be expressed as illustrated in Figure I. Because of their aristocratic status, the "twice-born" castes of Nepal dominate both the local community elites and the governmental institutions at the central level (cf. Rose 1971 : 7 ; Bista 1967 : 1). The Brahmins have traditionally

controlled the legal, religious, and social realms while the Chetri dominated the political and military positions (cf. Bista 1967 : 1 ; Kumar 1967 : 92ff ; Joshi and Rose 1966 : 23, 37, 51, 503).

It is argued that the high percentage (65%) of Brahmins within Tinglatar has contributed toward "opening up" the community to the outside world. As Brahmins, residents of Tinglatar see themselves as part of a larger society which ultimately includes all Hindu India. Through religious texts (purchased in Benares), pilgrimages and teachings derived from the Hindu Great Tradition, they realize that Brahmins similar to themselves exit throughout South Asia. Unlike the Medieval European peasant class, they perceive that their caste is not a despised element but is revered as the most prestigious segment in this society. It is often pointed out that even Nepal's king must adhere to the customs and advice of his Brahmin priests. In several respects, Tinglatar's Brahmin exhibit many of those attributes which characterized and serv to set apart the landed nobility of Medieval Europe from despised masses of peasants. Thus, both groups were pro bited from carrying out certain tasks such as plowing portering and looked down upon commercial activities

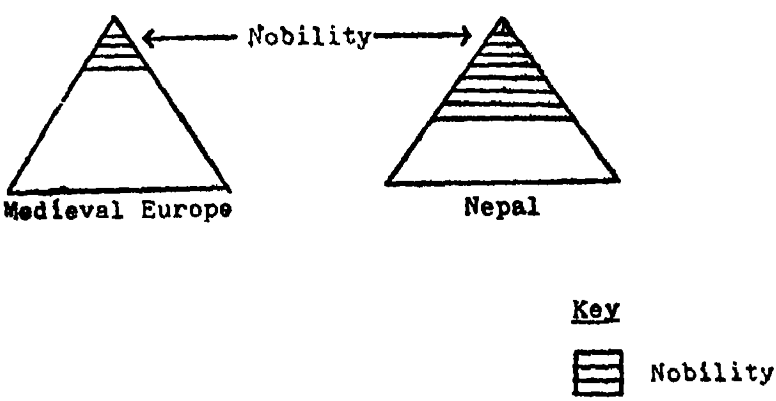


Figure I. Percentage of nobility in two multi-community social orders.

being inherently unworthy (cf. Bloch 1961 : 328-329 ; Pirenne

1937 : 423). In addition, each supported literary endeavors (especially religious ones), adopted elaborate codes of conduct and practised initiation rites which distinguished them from the rest of society (cf. Bloch 1961 : 305-306 ; Hilton 1966 : 58). In brief, the nobles of Medieval Europe and the Brahmins each viewed themselves as constituting a landed aristocracy whose religiously sanctioned duty it was to manage their lands and the tenants who tilled them.

In practice the stratified system of economic relationships as envisaged by the Brahmins of Tinglatar rarely existed and more recently has almost entirely collapsed : the Bhujels, the the Brahmins' former slaves, now own their own land and only occasionally plow or porter for their former Brahmin masters. The Bhujels' emancipation by the government together with a decreasing land base has forced almost every Brahmin householder to plow his fields himself. In reality, only a couple of Brahmin households can presently afford to hire a Bhujel servant on a full-time basis. Nevertheless, the persistence of the ideal conceptpalization of themselves as a sacred country-gentry has encouraged the Brahmins to adopt a way of life that has prepared them for opportunities existing in the larger society. In particular, their traditional emphasis on acquiring a Sanskritic education has contributed toward the Brahmins' "outwardness". Moreover, the elaborate rules of pollution followed by Brahmins everywhere has encouraged interaction between members of the same caste rather than with other, non-Brahmanic elements. This factor, plus their concern with protecting their high *de jure* status *vis-a-vis* the lower castes has also reinforced cooperational patterns between Brahmins.

As a result of their high *de jure* status, the Tinglatar Brahmins have consistently benefited from the national government's administrative policies. Much like the nobility of Medieval Europe, they have been favoured with lucrative land grants. As previously illustrated, the government's obvious favoritism toward Brahmins has encouraged the latter to use the official courts as an effective means for enlarging their patrimony at the expense of the lower castes or non-Hindu

populations. The occasional presence of one of Tinglatar's own members as a low-level official at the local district center has often simplified this process. Moreover, members of the Brahmin caste have traditionally dominated the governmental bureaucracy and relations with local officials were often made much easier for Tinglatar's residents as a result. For example, during the period of research, four of the five officials who visited Tinglatar were Brahmins. They all held influential positions in the district center and, largely due to their Brahmanic background, were able to communicate easily with Tinglatar's elite. The officials themselves expressed a preference for dealing with Brahmins as opposed to other castes or ethnic groups. Hence, according to one such representative, "because the Brahmins ars traditionally leaders and well educated, they should demonstrate to others how development will take place." As far as the villagers were concerned, a "good" official was usually Brahmin, or at least of "twice-born' status. Finally, the government's traditional support for Sanskritic education has also served to integrate the Tinglatar Brahmins into the wider society. Under a system whereby scholarships were granted exclusively to Brahmins living in the hills, almost all of Tinglatar's traditional elite as well as its schoolteachers were able to attend Nepal's formost Sanskrit educational institution in the capital, Kathmandu. Consequently, they have not only imported ideas propagated by Nepal's urban elite, but have enabled Tinglatar to maintain its position as the most educated and politically sophisticated village in the area. Thus, Tinglatar's Brahmin leaders have not only guided their own community's involvement in the outside world, but have also served as brokers for surrounding lower-caste villages.

If Wolf's model is to be predictive in Nepal the unique structure and associated cognitive aspects of the Hindu caste system must be taken into account. The basic problem stems from the high caste status accorded to the Brahmins (cf. Tambiah 1972 : 833). According to Wolf's definition Tinglatar's Brahmins are peasants : that is, they are agriculturists in effective control of their land who aim at a subsis-

tence economy rather than reinvestment, and their surpluses are transferred to a dominant group of rulers (cf. 1955 : 453 ; 1966a : 2-4). At the same time, however, Tinglatar's Brahmins are also recipients of many advantages which one normally associates with the aristocratic segment of pre-industrial peasant-based societies in other areas. Although it must be admitted that Tinglatar's Brahmins are, in reality, economically peasants similar to those of Medieval Europe and that their aristocratic standing is essentially a "state of mind", it is nevertheless just this factor that has frequently distinguished the Brahmins from the other lower caste or non-Hindu ethnic groups. More specifically, the Brahmins' concern with the tenets embodied in the Hindu Great Tradition, their regard for their prerogatives *vis-a-vis* the lower castes and, in particular, their efforts toward obtaining a Sanskritic education have enabled them to compete successfully in the larger society outside Tinglatar. Correspondingly, it is frequently remarked in Tinglatar that the Bhujels will never become a caste like the Brahmins because they cannot educate themselves (i.e. they are mentally inferior). As Leach suggests for Hindn India,

> Caste ideology presupposes that the separation between different named castes is absolute and intrinsic. People of different castes are, as it were, of different species—as cat and dog. There can therefore be no possibility that they should compete for merit of the same sort (1960 : 7).

In summary, the Brahmins view themselves and are viewed by others as constituting an elite caste whose claim to high caste status and its associated rewards and responsibilities is unquestioned. Hence, for example, although a poor Brahmin's ceremonial activities, marriage form, occupational roles, and knowledge of the Hindu Great Tradition may be very similar to those of a wealthy Bhujel, he never *becomes* a Bhujel nor does the reverse process occur. Certain critical distinctions—ritual social and ideological--recognized by every caste still serve to sustain the hierarchical relationships between Brahmins and others. Traditionally, these distinctions were reflected in Nepal's Legal Code whereby even the poorest

Brahmin held a privileged position *vis-a-vis* the lower castes. In this fashion, the potential for attaining "complete" aristocratic status always existed for Brahmins.

In contrast to the Medieval European manor, Tinglatar's "aristocratic" segment (i.e., Brahmins) constitute a large percentage (65%) of the local population. The two structures may be illustrated as shown in Figure II. Within the manor, the peasant's (tenants) and the lord's interests are, in general, diametrically opposed. As Bloch suggests,

> ...With the fundamental contrast between the lords of manors and the immense multitude of tenants we are in the presence of one of the most ancient lines of cleavage in Western Society (1961 : 289).

Under this system the peasants constitute a corporate community which is subordinate to a dominant domain owne (e.g., lord) in the vicinity (cf. Homans 1960 : 328-339, 38 Hilton 1966 : 149-154). The lord's interests lie in control his tenants and maintaining influential links with the cen government. The Brahmins place in Tinglatar is somew different from that of the Medieval lord in Europe. Alth their positions and interests ideally correspond to those of lord, their relatively large numbers have induced changes. I a sense, they are lords without fiefs or, at most, very small ones. Consequently, although their social status remains unimpaired, their "real" political and economic condition rests somewhere in between that of the Medieval lord and his

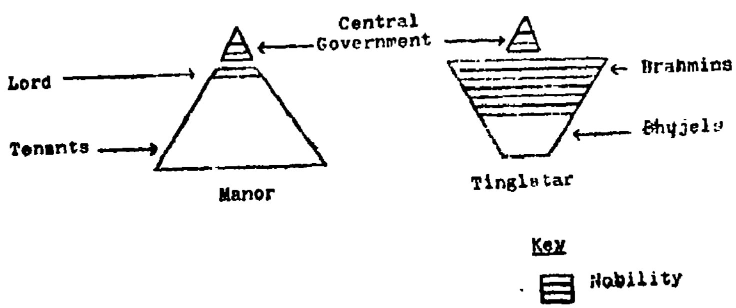


Figure II. Percentage of nobility in Tinglatar community and a Medieval Manor.

tenants. In this respect, the Tinglatar *talukdar* most clearly resembles the lord of the manor, like the latter he identifies easily with his counterparts in other areas, employs tenants to cultivate his fields and maintains influential links with government officials. However, unlike the lord, the *talukdar* cannot isolate himself from the rest of the lacal community which is, after all, composed primarily of Brahmins like himself. He still constitutes an integral part of the local society and, as such, must distribute his political and economic "advantages" among his fellow caste members or risk being ostracized. Partly for this reason, Tinglatar's Brahmins all enjoy, *albeit* on a very limited scale, many benefits usually reserved for a far less numerous aristocratic segement.

In contrast to the Brahmins, the status of Tinglatar's Bhujels more clearly resembles that of the tenants of the European manor who were not only economic inferiors, but legal, political, and social inferiors as well. However, the Bhujels form a minority population which does not constitute a separate community. Consequently, unlike the system in Medieval Europe in which the lord acted as a patron toward the community as a whole, the Bhujels are integrated "vertically" whith the more numerous Brahmins in a series of dyadic patron-client relationships. Hence, they do not constitute a corporate community as did the European peasantry even though their position is otherwise rather similar.

Finally, the lower-caste or non-Hindu communities nearby Tinglatar would seem to correspond most clearly to Wolf's model. Like the Bhujels they too were traditionally economic, legal, political, and social inferiors. In addition, these communities, like those of the European manor, constitute relatively homogeneous, self-contained units where "horizontal" coalitions would be favored. Similarly, opportunities within the larger socity were non-existent for lower caste members or non-Hindus. Consequently, as the limited data indicate, these communities do seem to conform to Wolf's thesis, and maintain closed corporate communities as a "defence" against a hostile world.

Conclusion

In essence, Tinglatar does not fit the closed, corporate community model because even though the criteria employed in the bi-polar classification are primarily economic, it is assumed that the communities referred to are also political, social, and legal inferiors within the larger society. However, although this may frequently correspond to reality it does not necessarily follow as the example illustrated here demonstrates. Ultimately, the problem stems from Wolf's definition of peasantry based almost exclusively on economic considerations. Hence, from his perspective, all of Tinglatar's residents are peasants and, yet, do not fit his model as he would predict. Alternatively, as suggested here, Tinglatar's Brahmin can be seen, for certain purposes, as constituting part of Nepal's relatively large aristocracy. Even though for most Brahmins their "aristocratic" status is largely a "state of mind," it still results in important consequences, especially with regar their relationships with the outside society. For this rea purely economic models cannot adequately explain the real of Tinglatar.

NOTES

[1]The field research (1970-1972) on which this study is based was supported by the National Science Foundation (Dissertation Research Grant GS-2754) and the Department of Anthropology at Washington State University.

[2]In order to protect the privacy of its residents, the community referred to here has been given a pseudonym.

[3]According to Skinner's thesis Tinglatar should be an open community. It is not. Reasons for this apparent contradiction will emerge from the following discussion.

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CONSISTENCY OF SUBJECTIVE CASTE RANKINGS ACROSS VILLAGES IN THREE REGIONS OF INDIA

By

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AND

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Abstract : This study compares subjective caste rankings from three different regions to determine to what extent a given caste is perceived as occupying the same rank position in different areas. The results show a very substantial degree of correspondence across regional boundaries, though the degree of corresesopndence seems to diminish as distance between regions increases. The authors infer that a more substantial study along these same lines could establish a universal, ordinal measure of caste rank, which would be useful for analytic purposes.

Purpose

THE objective of this paper is to seek, on an empirical basis, partial answers to the following questions concerning caste rankings in Indian villages :

1. Is there any consistency in the subjective ratings of the ritual ranks of castes in different villages within a region ? In other words, do knowledgeable respondents perceive the ritual structure of castes in a consistent manner across villages in the same region ?

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2. Is there a similar consistency in the subjective ratings of ritual ranks of castes across villages in different regions ?
3. Is there a consistency between the ratings of a small number of judges and the ratings of a random sample of village people ?

Particulars of the analysis conducted to answer these questions follow a discussion of different points of view on the questions themselves.

Background of the problem

The concrete local version of the ritual hierarchy principle underlying the caste system in Indian villages has been a subject of lengthy debate and unsettled controversy. In essence, the problem is one of local or regional variability of relative rank positions of the same castes. In view of perceived variation in caste ranks, the four-fold classical varna model has been criticized as an inadequate conceptual model to represent the complexity of the caste system in local contexts.[1] Louis Dumont sums up the inadequacy of the varna model for certain empirical purposes as follows :

> There is a tendency to sort out the many castes in a given territory into the four classical categories. However, there are regional peculiarities. Thus, in the South there are scarcely any caste intermediate between Brahmans and Shudras ; the Warrior Castes themselves are considered part of the Shudras, and scarcely worry about this at all.

Although it is sometimes possible to explain away anomalies resulting from the application of the varna model to local contexts as probably being due to peculiar local histories of the castes in question, or the conditions of the local population, the general question of variation in ranks still must be dealt with by investigators of caste stratification in rural India. Related to the question, as part of the problem, is the methodological issue of the criteria of determination of a caste's rank in the ritual hierarchy.

Several criteria have been used as bases of rank determination : (a) purity and impurity as reflected in a caste's way of life : (b) occupational specialization ; (c) sharing of water and hookah ; (d) ritualized receiving and giving of gifts and foods—cooked and uncooked ; (e) ritualized receiving and giving of specialized services ; and (f) forms of interaction with Brahmins as the standard of reference for purity of status. Dumont described the criteria of rank determination as (a) absolute or direct criteria, deriving directly from the ideology of the varna system (*i.e.*, rules governing child marriage and widow remarriage, food and occupation, strictness of purity-pollution observances, *etc.*) as enunciated in the various Dharma Sastras ; and (b) relative, or indirect criteria, which reflect inter-caste relationships and attitudes.[3] McKim Marriott classifies the criteria similarly, into (a) attributional and (b) interactional methods of rank determination.[4]

While Dumont suggests that the direct or absolute criteria embodying the various caste rules are "one of the most convenient manifestations of the hierarchical principle from the point of view of recording and observing."[5] Marriott maintains that relative caste ranks should be determined on the basis of the kinds of interactions a caste has with other castes, particularly in certain critical commensal and ritual contexts. Milton Singer summarizes Marriott's argument as follows :

> In his view, a caste may Sanskritise its way of life without rise in status, if it does not change its interactions with other castes. On the other hand, a caste may raise the status without changing it's attributes in dress, diet, pantheon, rites and beliefs, if it changes its interactions with other castes.[6]

Now, the distinctions between attributional and interactional criteria of caste rankings are more easily made at the theoretical than the empirical level, and the merits of particular criteria could be argued at great length, but that is not our purpose here. At the moment we only wish to indicate awareness of a serious measurement problem, the choice of valid and reliable ranking criteria. We lack the data

to address that problem, however, and have in fact chosen to use some available data on caste rankings to assess the question of consistency in such rankings within and across regions. The data we have available to us are not easily classifiable as involving either attributional or interactional criteria. as a matter of fact, as we are dealing with ranks as perceived by local respondents, we cannot always be sure of the criteria used. This additional measurement problem, the possibly different perspective of the villager and the researcher in applying any criterion in assessing caste rank, is discussed in greater detail below.

Method of Research

This paper is based on an analysis of data from five villages in different regions of India, focussed on the three questions stated at the outset. The villages under analysis are Manchili, Kanchumarru and Polamuru in West Goyavari Kondur Telangana, both regions of Andhra Pradesh, and Mula Maharashtra. All the village data used for rank-order cor tion analysis here are secondary data. Data relatin Manchili, Kanchumarru, Polamuru and Mulawa were gath in 1967 by the National Institute of Community Develop Hyderabad, as part of a larger study.[6] Data relating to Konduru were adapted from Hiebert's study of this Telangana village.[7]

Caste rankings in all villages except Konduru were determined on the basis of subjective ratings by a few knowledgeable respondents in the respective villages. These respondents in each village, acting as judges, were asked to rank photographs of people at work in caste occupations on their ritual status, defined in terms of sharing of drinking water or food.

Caste rankings in Hiebert's study of Konduru involved a random sample of 42 respondents in the village, who ranked thirty castes, well-known to them, whose names were written on cards. Using a paired comparison technique, each informant was asked to rank the castes in the village. No criteria, other than the caste names, were specified as bases for the ranking.[8]

Subjective ratings were thus the basis of determination of caste ranks in all villages, making the present rank-order correlation analysis possible. The rationale of the subjective ratings' approach may be set forth briefly as follows :

(1) Subjective ratings of relative caste ranks are considered as good as objective interactional criteria for determining the ritual status of castes in the villages. The justification of this premise arises from the evidence available from Marriott, who found quite substantial agreement between rankings obtained on the basis of interactions and those obtained from the consensus of local opinion.[9]

(2) The main advantage in using knowledgeable judges to rate the ritual status of castes in their respective villages is that it avoids forcing local phenomena into the observer's preconceived categories of thought. It thus eliminates the researcher's own baises and reflects the phenomenon as perceived by those involved in it.

(3) Subjective opinions on the ranks of castes from a few knowledgeable respondents of the village may be as representative as the collective opinion of a random sample of a number of respondents, as in the Konduru study. This assumption has been partially tested in present study by comparing the ratings for Manchili village with the results reported for Konduru, the latter being based on rankings by a random sample of 42 respondents.

Results

The castes ranked and their respective consecutive ranks (not the actual scores assigned) for each village under analysis are presented in Table 1. The caste names listed in the table by no means reflect the entire spectrum of castes in these villages. If a particular caste was represented in only one village it was deleted from the list, because it could not be used for comparative purposes. Table 1, then, lists those castes represented in two or more of the study villages.

Perusal of Table 1 will show that the three West Godavari villages have more castes in common with each other than with villages in other regions, as one might expect. Further, as one might also expect, the degree of common occurrence seems to go down with distance, as one makes first the cross-regional comparison within Andhra Pradesh, and then the cross-state comparison. In any case, Table 1 lists only those castes for which rankings could be compared across villages, and the rankings originally obtained (on all castes in those villages) have been re-numbered in serial order to eliminate the gaps caused by deletions. The number of castes available for rank comparisons is clearly limited, but Table 1 shows that the range from high castes to low castes is reasonably well represented in all of the villages.

Kendall's Tau[10] has been computed to obtain a single summary measure of the degree of consistency in rankings castes between villages. The results of the analysis summmarized in Table 2. Only Manchili village was compar... separately with Konduru and Mulawa because it had m... castes in common with the latter than did either of the ot... two West Godavari villages. The number of cases for ea... comparison is shown in Table 2 and reflects the fact that all castes are not represented in every village. Another reason for restricting the cross-regional analysis to Manchili village alone is the simple observation that the Manchili rankings are almost identical to those of Polamaru and Kanchumarru, as can be seen from the coefficients in the table.

TABLE 1

Caste and caste rankings

		West Godavari			Telangana	Maharashtra
		Manchili (N=20)	K-marru (N=15)	Polamuru (N=18)	Konduru* (N=15)	Milawa (N=10)
1.	Brahmin	1	1	1	1	1
2.	Kshatriya or (Maratha in Mulawa)	2	3	3	—	2
3.	Vaisya or (Wani in Mulawa)	3	3	2	2	2
4	Kamsali or (Sonar in Mulawa)	4	2	5	3	3
5.	Kammari or (Lohar in Mulawa)	4		7	5	7
6.	Vadrangi or (Sutar in Mulawa)	4	4	4	6	5
7.	Kapu	5	5	6	7	—
8.	Telaga	5	—	6	—	—
9.	Reddy	6	—	-	4	—
10.	Kummari	7	6	8	9	—
11.	Golla (or Dhangar in Mulawa)	9	3	—	8	8
12.	Saali (or Koshti in Mulawa)	10	8	9	13	4
13.	Settibalija	11	7	10	10	—
14.	Mangali (or Nhavi in Mulawa)	12	9	12	12	9
15.	Chakali (or Varathi in Mulawa)	13	10	13	11	6
16.	Harijan	15	12	16	14	—
17.	Madiga	17	—	17	15	—
18.	Yerukula	14	11	15	—	—
19.	Christian	16	12	14	—	—
20.	Medari	9	—	11	—	—

*Adapted from Hiebert, Table 8, pp. 60-61.

TABLE 2

Correlations between rankings of the ritual status of castes in five villages from several different regions.

Rank-order correlation between :	T_b	Z value and significance
Villages in the same District		
Manchili and Polamuru		5.4
(N=18)	0.93	Highly Significant
Manchili and Kanchumarru		4.9
(N=15)	0.98	Highly Significant
Polamuru and Kanchumarru		4.6
(N=14)	0.95	Highly Significant
Villages in different regions of A.P.		
Manchili and Konduru		4 62
(N=15)	0 91	Highly Significant
Villages in different states		
Manchili and Mulawa		3.03
(N=10)	0.78	Highly Significant

Discussion and Conclusions

In answer to our first question, the results demonst that there is consistency of a high order in the subject ratings of caste ranks made by local judges in different villa within a region. The ritual structure of castes in villages, perceived by independent judges in the respective village places a given caste in the same relative ordinal position on ritual rank scale across villages within the region. This is evidenced by the high coefficients obtained among Manchili, Kanchumarru and Potamuru—all in West Godavari District. The villages differ in numbers of castes represented, but those castes that are found in both members of a pair being compared are assigned ranks that place them in the same relative position in each.

The same conclusion holds for the question concerning consistency across regions. The correlation between rankings for Manchili of West Godavari District and Konduru of Telangana region in Andhra Pradesh (0. 91), and that between Manchili and Mulawa of Maharashtra (0. 78), clearly demontrate that the ritual order of castes is highly consistent across regions. In sum, different knowledgeable respondents acting

as judges in these villages from different regions perceived the relative ordinal positions of given castes in highly consistent patterns, and there may well be a fixed, consensual ritual hierarchy across villages in widely scattered regions. The present data suggest that the degree of consensus on rankings declines with increasing distance between regions (see the last two rows in Table 2), as one might reasonably expect. Nevertheless, the results clearly indicate a substantial cross-regional consensus on caste rankings. If these suggestive results are verified by replicative studies using larger numbers of castes, drawn from a more representative cross-section of Indian villages and regions, it may augur well for future attempts to establish a universal ritual stratification of castes in Indian villages.

The observed rank-order correlation between Manchili and Konduru supports our assumption that a few knowledgeable respondents may be as good judges of the ritual structure of Indian villages as a larger random sample of village respondents.

Before concluding, it needs to be emphasized that the results of this study are only suggestive, in view of the small number of castes, villages and regions compared here. The utility of the research may be seen in its highlighting the need for further exploration along the same lines to supercede the present *ad hoc* methods of caste ranking in individual studies. the present paper also suggests that it is not necessary to resort to a more crude level of measurement, *i.e.* comparing groups of castes rather than individual castes, in order to operationally define this critical dimension of social structure for analytic purposes. While it is quite true that the classical four-fold varna system, or some variant of that system, will show fewer discrepancies in rankings across regions, a wealth of information is lost by resorting to such crude categories. It is precisely the more microscopic difference in ritual status, perceived by the people themselves, which can help the researcher understand the role of caste in modern India.

FOOTNOTES

1. See M. N. Srinivas, *Caste in Modern India and other Essays*, (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962).
2. Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus, The Caste System and Its Implications*, (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1970), p. 73.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
4. McKim Marriott, "Interactional and Attributional Theories of Caste Ranking, "*Man in India*, Vol. 39, No. 2, (June 1959). pp. 92-107.
5. Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
6. Prodipto Roy, Roy, Frederick C. Fliegel, Joseph E. Kivlin, and Lalit K. Sen, *Agricultural Innovation Among Indian Farmers*, (National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1968), p. 49. This is part of a cross-national study entitled, "Diffusion of Innovations in Rural Societie directed by Everett M. Rogers. The Indian portion of study was jointly supported by the U.S. Agency International Development and the Ministry of Fo Agriculture, Community Development, and Cooperat Government of India.
7. Paul G. Hiebert, *Konduru–Structure and Integration in a South Indian Village* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. 1971), pp. 54-81.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-66. Hiebert specifies that he used Marriott's technique of ranking castes two at a time as "high" and "low" and working through all pairs in that manner. See McKim Marriott, "Caste Ranking and Food Transactions : A Matrix Analysis," pp. 133-171 in Milton Singer and Bernard S. Cohn (eds.), *Structure and Change in Indian Society* (Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1968).
9. Marriott, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-171.
10. Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *Social Statistics* (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972), pp. 415-427 ; and also see Gene Glass and Julian C. Stanley, *Statistical Methods in Education and Psychology* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1970), p. 179.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SOME GENERAL HIMALAYAN POPULATIONS.

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and

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Abstract: The ethnic composition of the populations of the Raj Bhotia and the Dom of Kumaon, the Srestha and the Jyapu Newar of Nepal and the Tibetan refugees in the Himalayan region of India has been reported. The comparison of these populations with the population groups of Cis-Himalayan region shows a weakening of the mongoloid element as one proceeds from the Eastern and Central Himalayas towards the West. On the Western side, mediterranean element seems to represent the base on which mongoloid element is implanted.

The ethnic composition of the populations residing in the Himalayan region of India is extremely interesting. The region extends from Kashmir to Assam and may further be divided into five sub-regions—Western Himalayas, Central Himalayas, Eastern Himalayas, Brahmaputra Valley and Assam Highlands.

The sample for the present study comprises three population groups from Kumaon (Rajis, Bhotias and Doms); two groups of Newars from Nepal (Shrestha Newars) and the Tibetan Refugees. All subjects were adult males and not closely related.

The Rajis are mainly concentrated in Askote, a subdivision of Almora district. Almora lies in the North-East of the division between latitudes 28°59' and 30°49' North, and longitudes 79°2' and 81°31' East. The Rajis are mainly food-gatherers.

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The Bhotias occupy the most northern part of Almora district, near the border of Tibet and Nepal. The Bhotias are enterprising traders and semi-nomadic in their habits.

The lower region of Almora district is occupied by three important caste groups—Brahmins, Rajputs and Scheduled Caste or Doms.

The Newars are one of the most ancient ethnic groups of Nepal Valley. According to Okada (1957) "the Newars represent one of the ten or twelve former tribal groups that today comprise the Nepalese populations. Their origin is obscure, but a Mongoloid affiliation is indicated. The Newars call the Non-Newars 'Parbate' or hill man' and the term reflects the long association of the Newars with the valley of Nepal, dating back probably to 1500 years". Their principal settlement areas are Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon. The Newars are divided into two religious groups—the Shivamargi (Hindu Section) and Budhamargi (Buddhist Section), Th two groups are further sub-divided into many castes. Shr Newars are merchants whereas the Tyapu Newars are fa by profession. Shrestha Newar group is sub-divided several sub-groups like Karmacharya, Malla, Prad Pradhananga, Amatya, Kayastha, Rajbhandari, Vaidya Joshi. These sub-groups intermarry as well as intramarry with one another.

The data on Tibetan refugees was mainly collected from Dalhousie, Mussoorie and Simla. All the subjects were of exclusively Tibetan origin. The majority of the subjects are from Lhasa, Alamdo, Shigatse, Tashigong, Phari, Ladzedzong, Gyantse, Chelang, Kyimdong, Chamdo, Demchok, Gartok, Chetang and Gyamda.*

MATERIAL AND METHOD

*The number of subjects examined and abbreviations used are as follows :—

Groups	Abbreviations	No. of subjects examined
A. Kumaon		
(1) Rajis	K.Ra.	70
(2) Bhotias	K.B.	100
(3) Doms	K.D.	40
B. Nepal		
(1) Shrestha Newars	N.S.N.	82
(2) Jyapu Newars	N.J.N.	36
C. Tibetan Refugees	T.R.	40

Measurements were taken according to the technique advocated by Martin and Saller (1957). In all 11 measurements were taken and 9 indices were derived from them.

Results and Discussion.

It can be observed from Table 1 (A and B) that the Tibetan refugees are slightly taller as compared to other groups in their mean stature values and modal frequencies. The average stature of the Rajis and Kumaon Doms is short whereas rest of the groups including Newars (N. S. N), Bhotias and Tibetan refugees possess below medium stature. It is however interesting that short stature element is conspicuously present in all groups (Table 1 C). Tall stature in all the groups is comparatively rare. Very tall stature is absent in all the groups except for the Tibetans who show 2.60% very tall stature. While applying tests of significance for both mean values as well as the frequency distributions, Tibetan refugees show significant differences with Kumaon Rajis, Bhotias and Doms, whereas Jyapu Newars show significant difference with Kuamon Bhotias and Doms (Table 2, A, B and C)

The head dimensions are uniformly large in the Tibetan refugees as compared to other groups. The mean cephalic index value is higher in Jyapu Newars. The Shrestha and Jyapu Newars fall in the Brachycephalic class, whereas, Tibetan refugees and Kumaoni Bhotias have more of mesocephalic heads. On the other hand Kumaoni Doms and Rajis possess Dolichocephalic heads.

As indicated by Bizygomatic breadth and Facial index the Tibetans possess broadest face whereas the Kumanoi Doms have somehat long and narrow face. All the groups have medium to long type of nose. Characteristically broad nose is present only in small minority.

All the groups under discussion belong to Mongoloid group except the Kumaoni Doms. From the analysis of the anthropometric data two distinct types of Mongoloid element appears to be present in the Central Himalayas. First one appears to Meso-to-Dolichocephalic type of head with long to medium type of face, which is typically flat. The epicanthic fold is

present in few subjects and the eye slits are often oblique. Guha (1944) was perhaps right in designating this element as 'Palae.Mongoloid' which according to him "are of more primitive nature and do not exibit the mongoloid characters so conspicuously. These are characterized by Medium stature with a skin colour varying from dark to light brown. The eyebrow region is not marked and the face is short, with prominent check-bones. The nose is medium, but of low elevation and shows arrested development usual among Mongo loid groups. The hair is scanty both on face and the body and the eye-slits are slanting. The epicanthic fold is not very marked and usually occurs with less frequency. What distinguished this group from other Mongoloid groups, however, is the form of head, which is not round, but varies from a long to a medium shape." He further says that, "this strain Palae-Mongoloid is found in the Sub-Himalayan region as the more ancient stratum of the population". The Rajis appears to belong to the Palae-Mongoloid group whereas both the groups of Newars and to a lesser extent Bhotias of Kumaon show smaller proportion of this ancient racial strain.

The second element could be described as short to Medium in stature with Mesocephalic to Brachycephalic type of head. The nose is moderately broad and somewhat flat. What distinguishes this group from the former one is the form of face which is broader and shorter varying from Meso to Euryprosopic type. The epicanthic fold is more marked and usually occurs in greater frequency. The hair is scanty both on the face and body. This element could be identified in a larger proportion among the Tibetans, Kumaoni Bhotias and both the groups of Newars.

In Table 3 Stature, Cephalic Index and Nasal Index of various Himalayan populations are listed. Statistical tests for comparison could not, however, be performed with the present population groups, as most of the published data for several populations listed do not provide the figures of standard error for their respective means.

Nearly all the populations of the Himalayas have medium type of stature. But generally speaking the stature shows slight increase as one proceeds from East to West. Among the various tribal groups of Northest India like Lepchas of Sikkim (157.00 cm), Kuki of Assam (156.60 cm), Chakma of Assam (159.50 cm). Khasis of Assam (156.90 cm) and Mikirs of Assam (159.02 cm) the average stature falls in the short range. The stature shows slight increase in Nepal where it varies from 157.10 cm to 169.80 cm and thus falls in the Below Medium category. This is reflected in the various population groups of Nepal like Gurungs of Nepal and Darjeeling (169.80 cm), Gurkhas (161.70 cm), Limbu (160.30 cm), Murmi (166.90 cm), Newars (161.40 and 157.70 cm), Khambu (157.10 cm), Mangor (158.70 cm), Kiranti (158.60 cm) and Gurungs of West-Nepal (162.30 cm). Further West of Nepal in Kumaon the stature is also in the Below Medium category, among the Bhotias (160.18 cm), Brahmins (166 95 cm), Khasiyas (163.84 cm) and Tharus (163 33 cm). The stature of the Rajis (159.42 cm) and Doms (158 80 cm) of Kumaon is however in the Short category. In a small sample of Garhwalis, the stature has been reported as 159.80 cm by Eickstedt (1926). The stature of the Jaunsaries including Khasa Brahmins (163.30 cm), Khasa Rajputs (162.40 cm) and Koltas and others (161.10 cm) also falls in the Below Medium class. Further West among the Kinnanries (163 03 cm) and Kanets of Kulu valley (165.40 cm), the stature is again Below Medium. Lahuli Kanets (161 80 cm) though slightly shorter than Kulu Kanets, possess Below Medium stature.

Although the data available on different populations of the Himalayas are scanty yet certain interesting conclusions emerge from the distributions of Cephalic index in some of the Himalayan populations.

The Brachycephalic element appears to be infrequent in Assam. It is in agreement with Guha's (1931, p. XIIV) statement that "The tribes living along the hills on the Eastern frontiers as disclosed by Hutton's (1921) measurements of the Angami Naga and Turner's 'Studies of China Lushai skulls' are in the main dolichocephalic in shape and proportions of

the head, but containing a small element of brachycephalic type allied to the Burmese." Except for Chakma (84.30) who possess Brapcycephalic head, the Kuki (76.20), Lepchas (79.90) and Khasis (77.30) are all Mesocephalic. So far only Mikirs from Assam (73.74) have been reported to have Dolichocephalic heads.

In Nepal, however, the Brachycephalic element appears to be somewhat common. Among the Gurungs of Nepal and Darjeeling (81.60), Limbu (84.30), Khambu (81.00), Kiranti (82.30), Gurkhas (82.70) and Newars (81.50), Brachycephalic element has been reported. Mesocephalic element was reported among the Mangor (79.00), Murmi (79.50) and Gurungs of West Nepal (79.60). Even in these groups, the mean value of Cephalic Index is on the higher limits of Mesocephaly. Both the groups of Newars fall in the Brachycephalic category, the Cephalic Index being 81.22 in the Shrestha Group a· ' 81.62 in the Jyapu Group.

As one proceeds towards the Western side of Nepal, Cephalic Index progressively decreases. Among Kuma the Western neighbours of the Nepalese, Dolichoceph element is present, the figures being 75·25 for the Kum Brahmins ; 72.33 for the Tharus ; 73.99 for the Rajis and 74... for the Doms. However, among the Khasiyas Rajputs (76.12) and Bhotiys (79.89) of Kumaon living on the border of Tibet and Nepal, Mesocephalic element appears to be more common. As we proceed further West, the Cephalic Index records a further drop. The mean value of Cephalic Index among the Khasa Brahmins is (73.30), among Khasa Rajputs (71.30), among Koltas (71.60) and among Artisan Castes (72.89) of Jaunsar-Bawar. The heads are predominantly Dolichocephalic in type. Further West among the Kulu Kanets too, the value of Cephalic Index is low (74.30) and falls in the Dolichocephalic category. However among the Lahuli Kanets living near the Tibetan border, the mean value of Cephalic Index is somewhat higher (77.50). It is thus evident that Brachyclephally which is apparently so common in Nepal, goes on decreasing toward the Western part of the Himalayas, the decrease being less marked on the Eastern side of Nepal.

The nose is predominantly Mesorrhine type in nearly all the populations of the Himalayas reported thus far. However, there appears to be a tendency to have broader nose in the Eastern Himalayan areas which goes on narrowing as one proceeds towards Western side. In Assam tribal groups among the Kuki (85.00) and Chakma (84 50), the nose is of Platyrrhine type. Whereas Khasis (74.30 and 73.58) and all the groups of Riangs (72.41 to 75.18) possess Mesorrhine type of nose. Lepchas (67.20) appear to have somewhat narrower nose.

In Nepal, except for Kiranti (85.70) who appears to have broader nose, Limbu (74.10), Khambu (76 60), Gurkhas (73.40), Gurungs of Nepal and Darjeeling (78 50), Newars (73 30), Murmi (75.20), Mongor (75.20) and Gurungs of West Nepal (75.30) all appear to have Mesorrhine type of nose. Newars with mean values of nasal index as 76.23 and 76.10 also falls in the Mesorrhine category.

Towards West of Nepal, among the Kumaon Brahmins (70.07), Khasiyas Rajputs (71 56), Tharus (76.22), Bhotias (70.20) and Doms (74.93) the nose is again Mesorrhine in type, but the mean value of Nasal Index is somewhat lower as compared to Nepali populations. Among the Garhwalis (73 80), the nose is again Mesorrhine in type. However in Jaunsar-Bawar the nose shows further narrowing. Among the Khasa Brahmins (66.00) and Khasa Rajputs (67.30) ; the nose is of Leptorrhine type However, Koltas (74 60) and Artisan castes (74.50) show Mesorrhine type of nose. Further West among Kanwari (65 45) and Lahouli Kanets (66.40) the nose is of Leptorrhine type.

It is evident from the above discussion that the Himalayan populations are quite heterogenous in their ethnic composition, whereas Mongoloid element appears to be more common among the Eastern and Central Himalayan populations, it goes on weakening as one proceeds towards West. On the Western side, Mediteranean element seems to remain as the base on which Mongoloid element is implanted in varying proportions. Further Mongoloid element is also not uniform but consists of

two distinct types. One is Short to Medium statured, Dolicho-cephalic to Mesocephalic with small head and small face. The skin colour is somewhat darker and Epicanthic Fold is not uniformly present. The second element is Medium statured, Brachycephalic and with comparatively large head and face dimensions. They show marked Epicanthic Fold. *These two elements are present in unequal* proportions in different Mongoloid populations of the Himalayas.

Summary

The ethnic composition of the populations (Rajis, Bhotias and Doms of Kumaon ; Shrestha and Jyapu Newars of Nepal and Tibetan refugees) residing in the Himalayan region of India is reported here. The average stature of the Rajis and Doms of Kumaon is short whereas rest of the groups including Shrestha and Jyapu Newars, Bhotias and Tibetan refu possess below medium stature. The Shrestha and J Newars fall in the Brachycephalic class, whereas Tib refugees and Kumaoni Bhotias have more Mesocephalic he On the other hand Kumaoni Doms and Rajis possess Dol cephalic heads. As indicated by Bizygomatic breadth Facial index the Tibetans possess broadest face whereas the Kumaoni Doms have long and narrow face. All the groups have medium to long type of nose. Characteristically broad nose is present only in small minority.

The comparison of these populations (viz., Rajis, Bhotias and Doms of Kumaon ; Shrestha and Jyapu Newars of Nepal and Tibetan refugees) with the population groups of Cis-Himalayan region show that the Mongoloid element appears to be more common among the Eastern and Central Himalayan populations, it goes on weakening as one proceeds towards the West. On the Western side, Mediteranean element seems to represent the base on which Mongoloid element is implanted.

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A_1A_2BO BLOOD GROUPS, RHESUS FACTOR AND ABH SECRETION AMONG THE RAJPUTS AND BRAHMINS OF NORTH-WEST KULU (H.P.)

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Abstract. A_1A_2BO blood groups, Rh (D) factor and ABH secretion have been studied in 98 Rajputs and 60 Brahmins of N.W. Kulu. 'p' gene (Rajputs = 0.3585 ; Brahmins = 0.3617) is more frequent than 'q' (Rajputs = 0.2334 ; Brahmins = 0.1583), while 'r' is preponderant (Rajputs = 0.4080 ; Brahmins = 0.4798) over 'p' and 'q'. in both the groups. High frequency of Rh-positive (Rajputs = 0.7200 ; Brahmins = 0.6713) is observed. Also seen is the greater incidence of allele 'se' (0,6586) in Brahmins and that of allele 'se' (0.5151) in Rajputs. Comparisons of the present series with neighbouring and distant populations have been made.

Introduction

NOTWITHSTANDING the wide scale studies on human blood groups carried out in India during the past five decades or so, there still remain many pockets unmapped, particularly with regard to the distribution of sub-groups of A blood type, incidence of Rhesus factor and ABH secretion. Recognising one such region in the cis-Himalayan belt, the Kulu Valley, about which information is insufficient, the author undertook a limited study of the A_1A_2BO system Rh-Hr factor and ABH secretion in Rajputs and Brahmins the two predominant sections of the population of the N.W. region of Kulu district, Himachal Pradesh.

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Sample and Procedure

98 Rajput and 60 Brahmin unrelated male and female individuals of Manali, Vashisht, Sial, Aleo, Prini, Banugram Jagat Sukh villages of Kulu district were tested for their A_1A_2BO blood types and ABH secretion. Of these 75 Rajputs and 37 Brahmins were typed for the Rh factor. Testing sera anti-A and Anti-B were procured from Haffkins Institute, Bombay, while anti-AB serum was procured from Dade Reagents, Inc. For differentiation of A_1 and A_2 cells, anti-A_1 Lectin prepared by Michael Reese Foundation, Chicago, was used. Anti-Rh_0 typing serum was obtained from Bharat Laboratories, Bombay. Anti-H was extracted from the seeds of *Ulex europaeus*, by the author.

Blood samples were taken from finger pricks and usual open-slide method of testing A_1A_2BO blood groups was followed. Rh-typing was done by slide test. Observations were microscopic. For the secretion of ABH substances, group O individuals were tested for their saliva with anti-H serum. For the inhibition test, the titre of each serum was brought to 1 : 81-6. Proper controls were set to ensure validity of results.

Results and Discussion

A_1A_2BO system.

The results of genetic analysis are presented in Tables 1 and 2. The gene frequencies have been calculated according to Wellisch & Thomsen (1930). In order to assess the internal consistency of the data the test for "goodness of fit" was applied. The fit is quite good in the data of both Rajputs and Brahmins.

It will be seen from Table 3 that while the cis-Himalayan and other populations further in the plains show a high frequency of group A, the present samples show an exceedingly high frequency of A. A similar situation, but of a lesser magnitude, of a frequent occurrence of A is obtained in some other cis-Himalayan populations, viz. Brahmins of Kulu-Katrain (Pathak, 1959), Rajputs of Kulu-Katrain (Mukherjee,

1959), Kinner-Kanets of Chini (Bhalla, 1960), Rajputs of Manali (Serab, 1966), Rajputs of Barot (Seth, 1969) & Kinner-Kanets of Kalpa Valley (Singh, 1972).

The present samples of Rajputs and Brahmins from N. W. Kulu reveal the frequency of gene A_2 as much as 3 to 3 5%. A comparative picture of the distribution of A_2 gene in various populations of North India (Table 4), in terms of the ratio of A_2' to A_1, shows that the occurrence of A_2 in Rajputs and Brahmins of N. W Kulu is more frequent than the neighbouring Mongoloid populations. Again, it is distinctly less frequent than that found in Mediterranean populations.

From a scrutiny of the three-coordinate graph (Fig. 1) it appears, in all likelihood, that while blood group B is a characteristic feature of plains populations it seems to have infilterated into a number of cis-Himalayan populations and resulted in boosting up the frequency of B in these populations.

Except a few neighbouring Mongoloid populations, e., Nepalese of Kalimpong O = 33.30% (Macfarlane, 1937), Gurkh of Nepal, O = 31.8% (Agar, 1946) and Tibetans O = 41.9 (Bhalla & Kaul, 1966), which exhibit a high incidence of group O, the present samples show a fairly low frequency of group (Rajputs : 17.34% ; Brahmins : 21.66%). A similar picture is visualized in some other cis-Himalayan Populations, such as Kanets of Simla Hills (Ghosh, 1958), Brahmins of Kulu-Katrain (Pathak, 1959), Rajputs of Kulu-Katrain (Mukherjee, 1959), Brahmins of Chamba (Chatterjee, 1960) and Rajputs of Kumaon (Srivastava, 1961), Rajputs of Bilaspur (Gupta, 1971) and Rajputs of Bilaspur (Saigal, 1971).

Rh system

Table 5 illustrates the results of the Rh system. X^2 values indicate a close uniformity between the observed and expected numbers in both Rajputs and Brahmins of the present study.

The results of the present study conform to the pattern of Rh distribution found in the higher castes of North India, though the frequencies of Rh negative in the present samples is somewhat higher, being 8% for Rajputs and 10.81% for Brahmins. Among the non-tribal populations, Sanghvi and

Khanolkar (1954) have reported Rh-negative frequencies varying between 1.5% and 12%. Further, it has been seen that on the whole Rh-negative is more frequent in North than in South India. Comparing the present results with those obtained on other cis-Himalayan populations (Tables 6) it is seen that, in general, the Rh-negative frequence as observed in the present samples of Rajputs and Brahmins of N. W. Kulu is much higher than that recorded for Mongoloid populations, like Tibetans (Tiwari, 1966) and Ladakhis (Bhattacharjee, 1968). The Rh-negative figures of the present series are more akin to those of the Mediterranean populations, like Kashmiri Pandits (Bhattacharee, 1966), and Punjabi Khatris and Brahmins (Bhalla, 1963).

ABH Secretion

The secretor and non-secretor phenotypes and the allele frequencies, are given in Table 7, while the distribution of the secretor and non-secretor phenotypes under four ABO blood groups are depicted in Table 8. The incidence of non-secretors in Brahmins, of the present series, is very low (11.67%) in comparison to that seen in the Rajputs (26.54%). Homogeneity test reveals that these two populations are significantly different from each other with respect to the secretor—non-secretor status (Tables 7 & 8).

The incidence of non-secretors in Rajputs is much higher than that reported in cis-Himalayan and other populations, i.e., in Rajputs of Manali (17.57%), Rajputs of Rampur-Bushahr (14.60%), Brahmins of Rampur-Bushahr (6.89%), Kinner Kanets of Kalpa Valley (16.04%), and Punjabi (17.25%). The low incidence of non-secretors in Brahmins of the present series (se = 0.3414) is more akin to that reported for Tibetans (se = 0.336) and as seen in Table 9.

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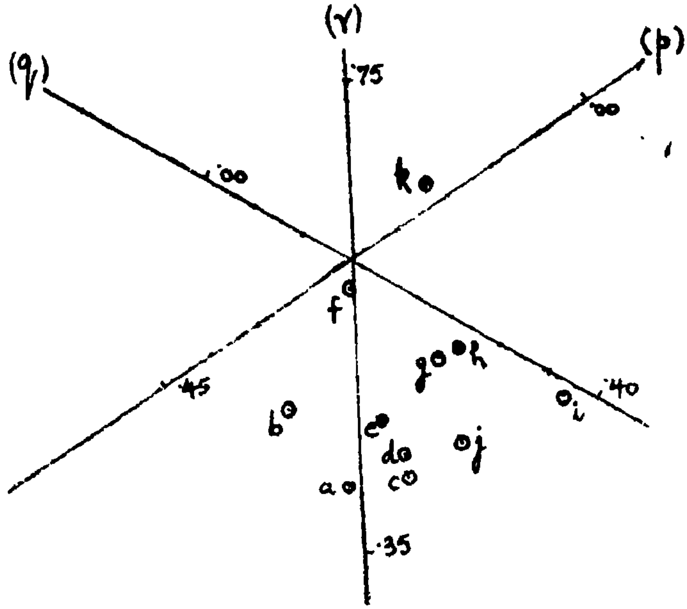
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FIG. THREE CO-ORDINATE GRAPH FOR A-B-C GENE DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE MAJOR CIS-HIMALAYAN POPULATIONS AND THE TIBETANS



LEGEND

a. Rajputs of N. W. KULU
b. Brahmins of N. W. KULU
c. Rajputs of Manali
d. Brahmins of Kulu-Katrain
e. Rajputs of Kulu-Katrain
f. Kinner-Kanets of Chini
g. Brahmins of Chamba
h. Kumaoni Rajputs
i. Garwalis
j. Lahaulis
k. TIBETANS

TABLE 1

A_1A_2BO Blood Groups & Frequency Distributions Among the Rajputs & Brahmins of N. W. Kulu

Population (N)	O	A_1	A_2	B	A_1B	A_2B	p_1	p_2	q	r
	Number and percent of Phenotypes						Allele frequencies			
Rajputs	17	40	3	25	11	2	0.3241	0.0844	0.2384	0.4080
(98)	17.34%	40.81%	3.06%	25.51%	11.22%	2.04%				
Brahmins	13	25	2	10	7	3	0.3262	0.0355	0.1583	0.4798
(60)	21.66%	41.66%	3.33%	16.66%	11.66%	5.00%				

Homogeneity X^2 (5d.f.) = 2.7301, .80 > P > .70

TABLE 2

A_1A_2BO Phenotypes in Rajputs and Brahmins of N. W. Kulu

Population (N)		Phenotypes (Absolute numbers) O	A_1	A_2+A_2B	B	A_1B
Rajputs	Obs.	17	40	5	25	11
(98)	Exp.	16.31	37.93	4.44	24.00	14.82
Brahmins	Obs.	13	25	5	10	7
(60)	Exp.	13.81	26.55	2.79	10.62	6.19

Goodness of fit X^2 (1d.f.) for Rajputs =0.8530, .70>P>.50

X^2 (1d.f.) for Brahmins = 2.0304, .20>P>.10

TABLE 3

Comparison of A_1A_2BO Gene Frequencies of the People of North India

People	(N)	A_1	A_2	A	B	O	Author
(a) Cis-Himalayan Regions of Kashmir & Himachal Pradesh							
Ladakhis	141	.1953	.0060	—	.2278	.5709	Bhattacharjee (1968)
Tibetans (Rahla)	62	—	—	.157	.178	.665	Bhalla & Kaul (1966)
Lahaulis	306	—	—	.2503	.3100	.4393	Chopra & Sidhu (1970)
Kashmiri Pandits	820	.1249	.0078	—	.2670	.6003	Bhattacharjee (1966)
Brahmins (Chamba)	147	—	—	.229	.260	.511	Chatterjee (1960)
Rajputs (Kulu & Katrain)	268	—	—	.2983	.2494	.4651	Mukherjee (1959)
Brahmins (Kulu & Katrain)	110	—	—	.2929	.2739	.4156	Pathak (1959)
Kinner Kanets (Chini Valley)	310	—	—	.258	.162	.579	Bhalla (1961)
Kinner Kanets (Kalpa Valley)	190	259	.024	—	.185	.530	Singh (1972)
Rajputs (Rampur Bushahr)	126	—	—	.113	.275	541	Singh (1963)
Brahmins (Rampur Bushahr)	88	—	—	.141	.257	.541	Singh (1963)
Kanets (Simla Hills)	196	—	—	.273	.291	.457	Ghosh (1958)

Comparison A_2A_1BC Gene Frequencies of the People of North India

People	(N)	A_1	A_2	A	B	O	Author
Rajputs (Manali)	185	—	—	.3146	.2801	.4053	Serah (1965)
Rajputs (Barot, H. P.)	212	.3173	.0926	—	.1971	.3930	Seth (1969)
Rajputs (Bilaspur, H. P.)	152	—	—	.2565	.2884	.4214	Gupta (1971)
Rajputs (Bilaspur, H. P.)	121	.227	.033	—	.279	.459	Saigal (1971)
Rajputs (N. W. Kulu)	98	.3241	.0344	.3585	.2384	.4080	Present series
Brahmins (N. W. Kulu)	60	.3262	.0356	.3617	.1588	.4798	Present Series
(b) Cis-Himalayan Regions of Uttar Pradesh							
Rajputs (Kumaon)	104	—	—	.2300	.2580	.5140	Srivastava (1961)
Kumaoni Brahmins (Almora)	108	—	—	.2400	.2647	.4952	Tiwari (1954)
Kumaoni Rajputs (Almora)	124	—	—	.2052	.2682	.5266	Tiwari (1954)
Garhwalis	103	—	—	.1476	.3712	.4812	Hirszfeld (1919)
(c) Plains							
Punjabi Brahmins (Delhi)	402	—	—	.1953	.2753	.5294	Bhalla (1963)
Sikhs	213	.123	.044	—	.260	.573	Bird *et al.* (1956)
Jats (Punjab & Kashmir)	277	—	—	.171	.240	.576	Malone & Lahiri (1928-29)
Jats (Delhi)	113	—	—	.177	.250	.573	Chattopadhyay (1968)
Rajputs (Rajasthan)	118	—	—	.214	.246	.537	Malone & Lahiri (1928-29)
Lucknow Brahmins	203	—	—	.2070	.2228	.5702	Majumdar (1947)

TABLE 4

Racial Distribution of Sub-groups of "A" in N. India

People	Place	Authority	(N)	A_2/A_1
Ladakhis	Leh	Bhattacharjee (1968)	141	0.031
Pandits	Kashmir	Bhattacharjee (1966)	320	0.062
Kinner Kanets	Kalpa Valley	Singh (1972)	190	0.076
Rajputs	N. W. Kulu	Present series	98	0.106
Brahmins	N. W. Kulu	Present series	60	0.108
Rajputs	Bilaspur (H. P.)	Saigal (1971)	121	0.118
Rajputs	Barot (H. P.)	Seth (1969)	212	0.290

TABLE 5

Rhesus Factor in Rajputs and Brahmins of N. W. Kulu

Population (N)		Rh +	Rh −	Allele Frequency D	Allele Frequency d
	Obs.	69	6		
Rajputs	Exp.	68.3	6.7	0.7200	0.2800
(75)	Obs.%	92.0	8.0		
	Obs.	33	4		
Brahmins	Exp.	33.7	3.3	0.6713	0.3287
(37)	Obs.%	89.2	10.8		

Homogenity X^2 (1d.f.)=0.2433 ; .70>P>.50.

TABLE 6

Comparison of Rh Gene Frequencies among the N. India Populations

Population	Gene Frequencies D	d	Author
Tibetans	1.000	0.000	Tiwari (1966)
Ladakhis	0.8058	0.1942	Bhattacharjee (1968)
Rajputs (Bilaspur)	0.7850	0.2150	Saigal (1971)
Punjabi Khatris	0.7463	0.2537	Bhalla (1963)
Kinner Kanets (Kalpa Valley)	0.7410	0.2590	Singh (1972)
Punjabi Brahmins	0.7374	0.2626	Bhalla (1963)
Kashmiri Pandits	0.7122	0.2878	Bhattacharjee (1966)
Rajputs (Barot)	0.5812	0.4188	Seth (1969)
Rajputs	0.7200	0.2800	Present series
Brahmins	0.6713	0.3287	Present series

TABLE 7

Abh Secretion in Rajputs and Brahmins of N. W Kulu

Population (N)	Type frequency Secretors	non-secretors	Allele frequency Se	se
Rajputs (98)	72 73.46%	26 26.54%	0.4849	0.51[illegible]
Brahmin (60)	53 88.33%	7 11.67%	0.6686	0.[illegible]

Homogeneity X^2 (1d.f.) = 4.9816, .05 > P > .02

TABLE 8

Blood Group-wise Secretor Composition of Rajputs and Brahmins of N. W. Kulu

Population (N)	Secretor factor (n)		O	A	B	AB
Rajputs (98)	Secretors (72)	Obs.	13	30	20	9
		Exp.	12.49	31.59	18.37	9.55
	Non-secretors (26)	Obs.	4	13	5	4
		Exp.	4.51	11.41	6.63	3.45
Brahmins (60)	Secretors (53)	Obs.	11	23	10	9
		Exp.	11.48	23.85	8.83	8.83
	Non-secretors (7)	Obs.	2	4	0	1
		Exp.	1.52	3.15	1.17	1.17

X^2 (3d.f.) for Rajputs = 1.0444, 0.99 > P > 0.50

X^2 (3d.f.) for Brahmins = 1.7840, 0.99 > P > 0.50

TABLE 9

Comparative Data on Abh Secretion

Population	n	gene frequencies Se	se	Author
Tibetans (Rahla, India)	62	.664	.336	Bhalla & Kaul (1966)
Kinner Kanets (Kalpa Valley)	162	.595	.405	Singh (1972)
Punjabis (Delhi)	203	.596	.404	Sharma (1957)
Brahmins (Rampur Bushahr)	41	.738	.262	Singh (1963)
Rajputs (Rampur Bushahr)	89	.618	.382	Singh (1963)
Rajputs (Manali)	148	.581	.419	Serah (1965)
Pandits (Kashmir)	220	.5578	.4422	Bhattacharjee (1966
Rajputs (Bilaspur, H.P.)	152	.5865	·4135	Gupta (1971)
Rajputs (Barot, H.P.)	188	.5564	.4436	Seth (1969)
Rajputs (N W. Kulu)	98	.4849	.5151	Present series
Brahmins (N. W. Kulu)	60	.6586	.3414	Present series

SOCIAL CHANGE IN NAGALAND

By

M. HORAM

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Abstract : An attempt has been made to record, in general terms, the trends of social change in Nagaland during the last few decades. The author feels that the Naga path to modernization should fully utilize the native genius of the Naga way of life.

The Naga way of life a hundred years ago had known no variation whatsoever for generations before that. In recent years, however, there have been tremendous changes so that many salient features of Naga life have completely disappeared. Nagas today are no longer insulated from various outside influences as they were in the days of yore. The present century has witnessed sudden and drastic changes and these, plus the more gradual changes which are occuring d have caused the present period to be lebelled an age of transition. There is no aspect of Naga life which has not been touched by change for, whether we look at the Naga economically, politically, or socially or in the religious fields, many transformations have been effected.

The days of head-hunting and warfare were cut short by the intervention of the British through legislation and the various Naga tribes have come a long way since then. They turned from the thrill of head-taking and fighting to the more useful, though comparatively tame, task of agriculture which was their occupation even in the good old days. With the Independence of India began a large-scale traffic between the Naga Hills and the rest of the country. Commercial business like shop-keeping etc. was at first not taken up by the Nagas. Certain businessminded communities of North, West and

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Central India came to settle in the hills which had hitherto been 'excluded areas'. With them came new ideas, customs, beliefs and goods ; as also the know-how of successful businessmanship and no doubt a fair share of dishonesty and exploitation. The other states of India became a reality and not just names of distant places and peoples of a country who had not communicated for centuries, met, exchanged and imbibed each others' ways. Like every thing else these new contacts have brought their share of changes some of which are decidedly for the worse. On the brighter side is the fulfilment of the age-old need for better communication and greater contacts with the rest of the country and consequently with the rest of the world. A new standard of living has been adopted by the Nagas which is at times ill-assorted with their own traditional homelier ways. The needs of the average man are multiplying daily to meet which simple farmers have overninght turned to the more interesting occupation of quick money-making. This is injuring agriculture in general and weaving in particular, specially when this last named is the only cottage-industry extant today. Other Naga crafts like pottery, basketmaking and such others are threatening to disappear altogether. True that the Government is doing all it can to encourage local handicrafts but no encouragement can take the place of spontaneous and artistic creations. The colourful Naga shawls are no longer a 'must' with the younger people and very few young girls know how to weave. Use of tailored and ready-made and often ultra-modern garments is on the increase and if this state of affairs continues, shawal-making among the different Naga tribes will be confined to a few and in due time the range and patterns of shawls made in each tribe will not be many. Each tribe has different types of shawls to be worn by men and women, members of the royal family, worriors and brave men etc. Wood-work and bamboo work is also becoming rare and, though time-consuming, this art should be preserved.

The changes on the political field have been too numerous, complicated and tumultous to bear a casual or brief survey. Nonetheless a few events stand out among the rest, namely, the

exit of the British, achievement of Independence by India and the beginning of hostilities in the Naga Hills with the inception of the underground movement, formation of Nagaland as the 16th state of the Indian Union and the three general elections already held. There is certainly a great deal of political awareness, not only among the more educated section of the Nagas but also among the less educated and even the illiterate. The phrase 'political awareness' when used in the context of the Nagas is almost always understood to mean that the extremists demand for an independent land of the Nagas is now becoming increasingly popular with all and sundry. This is not what is meant here. The last twenty years have brought home to each dweller of this ruggedly beautiful but strife-torn land the value of real and lasting peace. When the hostilities in connection with independence began over two decades ago, except for those who were directly and immedtately connected with the underground movement by Phizo i.e. those who were either in the political or milit wing of the so-called federal Government set up, only th seemed to know what they wanted or at least, what their lead wanted. Later, with the emergence of the overground Gove ment, another set of people, loyal to the constitution of Ind, knew in their turn what they wanted from New Delhi. But beside these people, the bulk of the Naga population was far too ignorant to be able to comprehend the intricate game of politics and far too peace-loving and contented to enter the foray or try even to understand what the commotion was all about. They went through their narrow round of life but this was so only till they were unharmed and unmolested or disturbed in any way. With the various taxes and fines imposed upon these simple villagers by the Under Ground Nagas that body became for them a reality. They, at the same time, began to feel the hand of the overground Government which also taxed them and set about to improve their lot in return for loyalty to the official Government at Kohima. Meanwhile the Government of India decided to meet the challenge of the Under Ground and military operations were began in several parts of Nagaland. The natural and perhaps the only real

victims of these Under Ground and Security forces were the poor innocent Naga villagers, many of whom lost their lives and most of whom lost their houses and crops in the combing operations. Ten years ago it would have been difficult for any of these Naga villages to answer questions regarding their political leanings for they had none. They were bewildered by what was going on and while a few tried to find out, the others continued to dwell in ignorance of the happenings that were shaking their serene lives and the reasons for the same. This writer till about 5 years ago often found the almost apathetic ignorance of the simple village folk towards the political developments in the Naga Hills downright appalling. They had harmed no one so why would anyone wish to harm them or how could political developments in far away places affect their uneventful lives or arguments and questions of the kind were on every lip when proded to explain their indifference to or divulge their political leanings. This was a common thing till recently. Actually things were happening too fast for their understanding and indeed for the understanding of even those whose who were educated. But now the common man has, through bitter experience, realised or is on the way to realising the impact of the political struggle in the Naga Areas in terms of the formidable dimensions of human suffering involved, a suffering which is not only physical but also psychological. In keeping with their character, which is noted for its courage and forthrightness they have begun to work for peace and their predilection for democracy is becoming well known. Almost every Naga one meets, is anxious for peace without which no land can progress. This "political awareness" is a new experience for many and most Nagas are beginning at last to realise the role of every individual in the solution of the problem that has troubled their land for more than twenty years. Even the affairs of day to day administration of a state have become clear to the Nagas who hava an old system of effective self government at the village level which is still respected and allowed to function by the Government of India. Ignorance can complicate any problem and the growing political awareness among the people will, if not actually

solve, at least work intelligently towards the solution of the political problem prevailing in the Naga hills. The process will no doubt be retarted by some unscrupulous poiiticians but that is unavoidable.

Most remarkable of all, are the social changes the impacts of which have been far reaching and overwhelming. The very first changes were those in material equipments like lamps, lanterns, guns, matches, battery torches, boots, shoes, and umberallas, modern aluminium and other utensils which replaced the eartheruware and wooden ones. Changes took place in matters of food as well and many new items of fresh vegetables, fruits, pulses and the like were added to the otherwise restricted diet of meat and rice. Milk drinking which was a taboo in the ancient days also became popular. Thus, the Naga way of life is undergoing changes daily. In matters of dress and habits Nagas todav tend to be a increasi[illegible] sophisticated. The youth today are as conscious of appearance as youth are anywhere in the world. T[illegible] spending more money on clothes, popular records, j[illegible] and cosmetics than their parents. There is a definite towards nonconformity, specially among the younger g[illegible] tion who seem to be so far removed from their parents of whom still cling to their old-world dress, jewellery, ide[illegible] and above all hard work.

Almost all parents are eager to give their children education and at times the girls have to be sacrificed for the sons who must go to school and later on to college, preferably to distant places like Jorhat, Shillong, Gauhati, and even Calcutta and Delhi. In many cases the children are not really cut out for studies or the parents can ill-afford to incur the tremendous expenditure but their zeal is unabated. With this rapid increase in literacy and higher education a great many young people have gone away from the land and seek white-collar jobs. The proverbial dignity of labour among this hardy hill folk is fast on the decline for not even the mediocre educated persons will stop to work on the land, preferring to work at a desk for a mere pittance. The adverse effects

of this attitude may not register now but they are bound to be felt at a later date. The problem of unemployment will all too soon raise its ugly head in the Naga hills and there will be many educated or semi-educated persons whose hands will fall idle unless, of course, they make the intelligent decision to be farmers. With unemployment will come indiscipline which is already being noticed among the young people. There is, at present, a crying lack of technical and vocational institutions in the Naga areas and consequently all skilled and mechanical jobs are held by people from other states of the country.

This was all right to begin with, but even after ten years of statehood no real attempt has been made to remedy this. Whereas hundreds of Arts Graduates are being turned out yearly, doctors, engineers, skilled craftsmen and mechanics may be counted on one's fingers. This is going to pose a problem in the near future. The people have already had a taste of modern living and if this taste becomes keener and while necessities will multiply the means to meet this may not ; as such the resulting frustration may result in considerable social set-backs. Long before any of these changes were felt in the Naga Hills, the Nagas had, in large numbers, embraced Christianity or more correctly western Christianity as it was brought to them by the white missionaries. The new religion proved beneficial in countless ways like removal of superstititions, introduction of schools and hospitals, cleanliness and a turning away from head-hunting and such other practices. Yet the spreading of Christianity was not always an unmixed blessing. Its preachers were very often short-sighted or more often they did not deem it necessary to heed the warnings of ethnologists and sociologists.

Every land and people have their very own and unique way of growing into civilisation. What may work with one primitive group many not necessarily succeed with another. And it was not as if the Nagas were an entirely barbaric race. Beneath a crude exterior of nakedness and head-hunting they already possessed an indigenous culture, an effective

system of self-government and several very sane and good laws. They had some very admirable institutions like the 'morung' or houses for young men. Over and above this they had always been self-sufficient in food and adept weavers. True, their needs were limited but they had lived thus for centuries and had managed to remain a people full of zest and vigour. Though the Government officials and the initiators of Christianity did not mean intentional harm, they very often in their misguided zeal, sought to pack into a couple of decades changes which should normally have taken centuries even in an alert continent like Europe. This was introducing abrupt changes and forced growth at an abnormal pace and the results have been more revolutionary than evolutionary. History bears ample testimony to the fact that periods of transition anywhere and in any sphere are delicate periods and need watching on the part of the reformers or else there is considerable danger of the group being changed or reformed to deteriorate or even become totally degenerate. True the reformer and the missionary—and in Naga Hills the two were usually one—relieved the Nagas of many ills and evils, but their new ways and rules unconsciously acted as distintergrating forces. A few examples here will serve to illustrate the point and prove the contention.

The Government officials with their legislations and the Christian missionaries with their dos and don'ts failed to control the processes of social and religious change. It was all very well to forbid head-hunting by law but it was another thing to provide a substitute for it on which the Nagas could expend all their unused energy. Christianity did attempt to fill the breach but very few accepted it in its right spirit and indeed to many head-hunters the sudden switch-over to the law of love became an embarassing experience. Thus it was that many became Christians in name alone and naturally failed to derive the satisfaction that they had hitherto derived from their wilder pursuits. Only those who embraced Christianity whole heartedly seemed to find their lives still worth living even after the sports and practices which had added

spice to the lives of their ancestors had been taken away from them.

Though the family is the basic unit of the Naga society, it is the clan and not the family which is really the binding factor in each Naga village. Under the old Naga life and customs, an individual must, in order to live in the village, obey the clan elders and put up with all the curbs put on his activities by them. This accounted for the stern discipline and unity that prevailed within each clan. Both reformers and missionaries undermined the importance of the clan by making every member to be conscious of his individuality and rights. This has resulted in every man placing his own interests over those of the clan and openly challenging the authority of the clan. The resulting disintegration and indiscipline can be imagined. The spirit of sacrifice and unity at all costs have disappeared and with these are going some of the most noble traits of Naga character.

The disappearance of the young mens' house or Morungs is due to the fact that from the very outset the missionaries frowned on these as being in their opinion, dens of vice where singing, dancing, drinking and sex were the only preoccupa. tions. An unprejudiced study of these institutions, however, will show that there was a great deal of good in them and they were the ideal and the only institutions where the Naga youth learnt the invaluable lessons of discipline, bravery, responsibility, service and obedience. The decay of this institution has resulted in a social, cultural, and in many tribes, an architectural loss. The Morung used to be the centre of rigid physical training for future warriors as well as the nurse of all arts such as dancing, singing and carving. The morung was done away with but no better substitute was thought of in its stead with the result that the number of idlers and undesirables began to be on the increase.

The Naga religion abounds in taboos and Christianity also laid down strict rules as to what was to be done and what was to be left undone. To many casual converts change of faith meant nothing more than the exchange of one set of taboos for

another. For example compulsory rest days were always observed by the Nagas. Working on these days would mean offending their various gods and spirits. Now that they had become Christians they observed the sabbath the breaking of which would offend their new God. The missionaries have been the sole offenders in suppressing Naga culture as it finds expression in their haunting songs and their energetic and colourful dances. Today very few young men and women know how to dance their traditional dances or to sing the numerous folk songs which alone can throw adequate light on the Naga mind, customs and character. Forbidding dancing and drinking of even the mildest rice beer led to many villages splitting up into two—one part belonging to the non-Christian and the other to the Christian.

It is not the intention of this writer to paint a gloomy picture of the overall loss of values among the Naga tribes for truth is not either in the extremes of black or white but is a complex of the many shades between the two. What is past belongs to the past and it is the present state of affairs, thoughts and attitudes that really matter. It is a fact today that the Naga people have left the days of head-hunting firmly and far behind them and have gracefully accepted modern standards and ways of life. Acceptance however is not enough. They should be able to keep this up in order to ensure progress in all fields for the betterment of the land they so dearly love. Yet, even this cannot be enough for, alongside, they should also be able to judge between real and pseudo culture and not adopt any and every way of life just because it happens to be new. True, the old order must change, as it indeed has changed and is changing daily, yielding place to the new, but Nagas, in their enthusiasm to adopt new ways must not and indeed cannot afford to loose sight of those of their very own sound and practical customs and traditions which have made them what they are today and which are more suited to their peculiar needs. Surely there are various rules, customs and usages of Naga life which are good if not better than the modern substitutes. These must not be tossed aside but must be preserved for a graceful posterity. Along with this all changes

which have dealt a death-blow to Naga culture must be resisted. All who have been persuaded to give up their grand heritage of songs and dances under the cover of religion must be awakened to remedy their ignorance of the life and culture of their forefathers. Change of faith or adherance to a new creed need not necessarily aim at stifling a rich cultural heritage or banning innocent and beautiful customs. Nagas must endeavour to resuscitate their dying culture, and if dead, as indeed it is in certain Naga areas, to leave no stone unturned to resurrect it. Naga literature, hitherto oral, must be written down before it dies with the elders of this present generation. This is the crying need of the day.

There is also a growing sense of Indianness among the tribes and as such the isolation of centuries must at last be broken and cultural exchanges made at every possible level.

CASTE AND CLASS IN A RURAL TOWN

By

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Abstract : On the basis of intensive field study of a small rural town in Midnapur district, it has been observed that caste status is of little importance in daily social life. Decisions about behaviour seem instead to be based on broader concepts of social classes as status groups. This is not merely on account of the urban milieu, but, perhaps mainly on account of the town's location in a region in which the high degree of stratification characteristics of South Asia as a culture area is largely absent. This town may also be reviewed as an example of a particular class of urban centres—rural towns—small, in size, highly "urban" in diversity of population and occupational structure, and yet, strongly oriented to the immediate locality.

Introduction

AN intensive field study of a small rural town in Midnapore District, West Bengal[1], suggested that caste status is of minimal importance in daily social life; decisions about behavior seem, instead, to be based on a broader concept of social classes as status groups. While it might be expected that caste affiliation would be diminished in importance in an urban setting, the strong orientation of a small rural town to its surrounding locality acts as a counter-balance to the urban features in its social structure. It appears that while the emphasis on "class" reflects urban characteristics of urban population and occupational structure, the unimportance of caste in social life in this particular town reflects also the pattern of social stratification characteristic of the particular region in which the town is located.

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Setting

Headquarters of a Police Station of the same name, the town of Mahishadal is located about 75 miles southwest of Calcutta. Designated "urban" in 1961, when the population was approximately 5200, Mahishadal has had a long history as administrative headquarters for the Mahishadal Raj Estate. The Estate was founded in the early 17th century, when a North Indian Brahman, who had founded a market at a river corssing, replaced one of the local *zamindars* who was unable to meet the revenue demands of the Moghuls. From small beginnings, sixteen succeeding "Rajas" enlarged the estate to encompass about 323 square miles at Zamindari Abolition, some 300 years later.

The diversity characterizing the present population of Mahishadal (Table I) reflects its history as a Raja's town : a

TABLE 1

Caste Distribution of 500 Mahishadal Households

	Caste	Traditional Occupation	No. of Households
1.	Mahishya	Cultivator	160
2.	Muslim		73
3.	Kayastha	Writer	27
4.	Rarhi Sreni Brahman		20
5.	Baisnab (Vaisnava)	Religious sect recruited from other castes	20
6.	Hari-Keora	Scavanger	20
7.	Teli	Oil-Presser	19
8.	Utkal Brahman		18
9.	Paschima Brahman		18
10.	Karmakar	Blacksmith	16
11.	Malakar	Garland-Maker	15
12.	Tantubai	Weaver	14
13.	Madhya Sreni Brahman		111
14.	Kumor	Potter	11
15.	Muchi	Leatherworker	9
16.	Kshatriya-Brahman	Cultivator	6
17.	Namasudra	Cultivator	6
18.	Dhopa	Washerman	5
19.	Barendra Brahman		4
20.	Karan	Oriya Writer	3
21.	Napit	Barber	3
22.	Chutahar	Carpenter	3
23.	Mathor	Scavenger	3
24.	Baidya	Doctor-Writer	3
25.	Bagdi	Field Laborer	2
26.	Tili	Oilpresser-Grocer	2
27.	Bene and Swarnakar	Goldsmith	2
28.	Nepali		2
29.	Saha	Distiller	2
30.	Tambuli	Trader	1
31.	Jugi	"Weaver Brahman"	1
32.	Paundra-Kshatriya	Basketmaker-Drummer	1

Survey of 500 households includes members of 32 distinct castes. While some of the service castes were brought into the area to serve the Raj Bari, most of the artisan castes were attracted to the town by the market opportunities created by the presence of the Estate Headquarters with its large staff.

The pattern of caste migration in recent times continues to reflect the town's history : the educational institutions founded by the Rajas and the continued expansion of the town's administrative functions under the State of West Bengal, have attracted a large number of qualified high caste Bengalis from far outside the local region. The continued development of the town as an educational and administrative center, along with improvements in transportation facilities have in turn stimulated the development of the town as a marketing center. Recent arrivals in the town include a large number of Mahishyas and other castes from the locality, who have come to the town to take advantage of expanding business opportunities there.

The population dynamics of Mahishadal are those of a rapidly expanding urban center : one third of the household heads surveyed were born elsewhere. But the town still has many rural characteristics. A non-municipality during the period of study, the town lacks a distinct governing body, functioning under the jurisdiction of five village *panchayats*. Although non-official, the Bazar Committee acts in many ways as the town council. As of late 1970, there was still no electricity, and no town water system—townsmen bathed in ponds and tanks, and carried drinking water from tube-wells. Although a few small apartment buildings have been erected and a limited amount of urban style housing is available in the bazar areas, most families live in mud houses spread out along a sprawling network of paths bordering paddy fields. Some parts of the town look exactly like the typical Bengali village.

The rural orientation of the town is also reflected in the make up of its population. Sixty per cent of the households surveyed, from 23 castes, have been residents of the town for two or more generations : the kinship and marriage networks of these families link the town with numerous villages in the

locality. Of the newer arrivals, roughly 60% have come to the town from villages in south-eastern Midnapore. The strong orientation of the town to the surrounding rural area is further reinforced by the fact that commuters—townspeople by day but villagers at night—make up a substantial proportion of the town labor force. Sixty per cent of the businesses in the town bazar are owned by commuters.

Caste and Occupation

The occupations practised by the Mahishadal people tend to be "urban" rather than "rural". (Table 2) The picture

TABLE 2

Primary Occupations of 500 Town Household Heads

Occupation	No. of Households
Government Official	17
Professional	60
—Doctor	
—College Professor	
—Teacher	
—Engineer	
—etc	
While collar Salaried Employee	54
Menial Salaried Employee	19
Other Salaried Employee	36
Business	49
"Homework"	20
—management of family affairs from home office	
Cultivation, including Sharecropping	84
Unskilled Labor	103
Artisan[1]	40
Other[2]	13
Unemployed	5

regarding traditional castelinked occupations is mixed. While a smal number of people—Brahmans, Potters, Vaisnava singers, and Leatherworkers—continue the exclusive practice of their traditional occupations on at least a part-time basis,

[1] all arts and crafts including those associated with particular castes

[2] A mixed category including traditional occupations such as priest, service occupations such as barber and washerman, and other occupations such as musician, actor and artist.

most formerly exclusive occupations are now practised by outsiders as well. The Blacksmiths engaged in the manufacture of brass utensils have been joined by men of the Washerman and Mahishya castes. The only full-time weaver encountered in the household survey is a Brahman, while the men of the weaver caste are agricultural laborers. The Bazar Census reveals that while there is tendency for certain businesses to be dominated by men of a particular caste (most, but not all, barbers were Barber caste), in no case does a caste group have exclusive control of a business linked to its traditional caste occupation.

Caste in Daily Life

When collecting information about *panchayats*, club membership, lists of employees and the like, it was frequently necessary to rely on second-hand information about the caste statuses of certain individuals. It gradually became apparent, through cross-checking, that "mistakes" were being made in caste identification—at various times Karans, Garland-makers, Barbers, Weavers, Blacksmiths, Namasudras, and Keoras were identified as "Mahishya" by friends, neighbors, or associates who should have known better. Since the "mistakes" were not consistent, and since the same informants often correctly identified the castes of the same individuals in later conversations, it appeared that the "mistakes" indicated, not ignorance, but a pattern of contexts in which precise caste identity was neither necessary nor functional.

When the mistakes in membership lists for *panchayats* and various clubs were rectified, indications were that no organization in the town recruited members on the basis of caste alone. The 84 members of the *panchayats* with town jurisdiction included members of 11 castes—Mahishyas (the largest group), Muslims, Oil-pressers, Garland-makers, Potters, Blacksmiths, Weavers, various kinds of Brahmans, Namasudras and Keoras were included. The clubs surveyed also had mixed—caste memberships. Important groups in town life are not based primarily on caste.

Caste Ranking

When specific information about caste ranking was sought[3], it was found that the caste stratification system in the town of Mahishadal has only one clear characteristic—it is muddled. When 56 informants attempted to rank 36 castes, there was no caste upon which all placed in a particular rank. The caste population of Mahishadal town arranged according to the local ranking system is presented in Table 3. For comparative

TABLE 3

Caste Population of Mahishadal Town Arranged According to Local Ranking System

Group	Castes in order of rank	PerCent of Population
A	1. Rarhi Sreni Brahman	14.20%
	2. Madhya Sreni Brahman	
	3. Paschima Brahman	
	4. Utkal Brahman	
	5. Barendra Brahman	
B	1. Baisnab (Vaisnava)	4.00%
C	1. Kayastha	39.20%
	2. Baidya	
	3. Kshatriya Brahman (Rajput ?)	
	4. Mahishya	
D	1. Malakar	27.40%
	2. Karmakar	
	3. Kumor	
	4. Swarnakar	
	5. Karan	
	6. Teli	
	7. Tili	
	8. Tambuli	
	9. Napit	
	10. Chutahar	
	11. Tantubai	
	12. Jugi	
	13. Dhopa	
	14. Namasudra	
	15. Bagdi	
	16. Bepali	
	17. Hari-Keora	
	18. Muchi	
	29. Paundra-Kshatriya	
E	1 Methor	0.60%
F	1. Muslim	14.60%

purposses, the same castes, arranged according to their positions in the "traditional" caste ranking system, are presented in Table 4.

The most striking characteristic of the town collective caste hierarchy was its lumping of 36 castes into only six distinct groups, groups which cut dramatically across the boundaries of the ranked categories in the "traditional" system. The great difference in rank accorded certain castes in the two systems, as in the case of the Baidyas and Kayasthas, seems to require some explanation. The first explanation that comes to mind is that the caste hierarchy constructed by townsmen reflects the diminishing importance of caste in an urban setting. However, an alternative explanation might be the opposite—that the particular characteristics of the Mahishadal caste hierarchy may in fact reveal the strong cultural orientation of the town to the surrounding rural region.

Rural vs. Urban Systems of Stratification

Marriott, in a paper discussing the complexity of stratification systems in India, suggests that a basic distinction may be made between "closed, interactional, rural systems of stratification on the one hand and open, attributional urban systems on the other hand" (Marriott 1968 : 114).

TABLE 4

Caste Population of Mahishadal Town Arranged According to the "Traditional" Ranking System

	No. of Households
I. *Brahmans*	
1. Barendra	4
2. Rarhi Sreni	20
3. Madhya Sreni	11
4. Paschima	18
5. Utkal	11
II. *High Castes* (Castes ranking above clean sudra)	
6. Baidya	3
7. Kayastha	27
8. Karan	3
9. Kshatriya Brahman (? Rajput)	[illegible]

Caste Population of Mahishadal Town Arranged According to the "Traditional" Ranking System

		No. of Households
III.	*Clean Sudras*	
	10. Karmaker	16
	11. Kumor	11
	12. Malakar	16
	13. Napit	4
	14. Tantubai	14
	15. Teli	18
	16. Tili	2
	17. Tambuli	[illegible]
IV.	*Clean Sudras with Degraded Brahmans*	
	18. Mahishya	160
V.	*Unclean Sudras*	
	19. Jugi	1
	20. Saha	2
	21. Swarnaker	2
	22. Chutahar	1
VI.	*Low Castes Abstaining from Beef, Pork, and Fowl*	
	23. Bagdi	2
	24. Dhopa	5
	25. Namasudra	[illegible]
VII	*Low Castes Who Are Unclean Feeders*	
	26. Muchi	9
	27. Paundra Kshatriya	[illegible]
VIII.	*Scavenger Castes*	
	28. Hari-Keora	20
	29. Methor	[illegible]
IX.	*Non-Hindu*	
	30. Muslim	73
X.	*Other*	
	31. Vaisnava Religious Devotees	20
	32. Nepali	[illegible]

He further points out that although the two systems are analytically distinct, they may coexist as frames of reference for behavior. I would like to suggest that this is indeed the case for Mahishadal residents, and that the situation in Mahishadal is further complicated (or perhaps simplified) by the fact that the analytically distinct urban and rural systems of stratification are not at odds, but reinforce each other.

The Urban Stratification System

The open character of the stratification system in Mahishadal has already been alluded to: while most of the town population has its rural roots in southeastern Midnapore, outsiders of "unknown" castes have been settling in the town since its origin. The interaction between the foreigners and the local population has always tended to be on the basis of attributed "class" status, rather than caste status.

The determination of the criteria upon which an individual's social status is based is a matter that has concerned students of South Asian social structure for some time (see articles by Barber, Damle, Marriott and Silverberg in Silverberg 1968). It is now recognized that even in the rural setting, caste is not the sole determinant of an individual status : such things as economic and political power, and personal prestige are also taken into account (Hiebert 1969). The situation in an urban setting is even more complex. A town such as Mahishadal, which is definitly "urban" and yet intensely involved with the rural population in the surrounding locality, would seem to present unique problems.

A possible approach to the complexities in a setting such as Mahishadal may be found through use of comparative data from other culture areas. Marvin Harris' study of a rural town in Brazil indicates that rural shows certain similarities cross-culturally. (Harris 1971). The people of the Brazilian town he studied saw themselves as comprising two social classes—the "whites" or the "rich" and the "negroes' or the "poor". Harris' analysis, however, reveals four classes in the town. An individual's class status is determined by "a combination ot criteria involving eccupational, educational, and racial ranking 'gradients'." (Harris 1971 : 96) An individual's class rank is determined by his composite score on a scale of low to high, or bad to good, as these were defined in the local value system. A low position in one ranking gradient could be compensated for by high positions in the other three.

The fact that class is determined by a combination of factors rated equal in importance allows Harris to account for

those instances where behavior does not match stated cultural ideals. For instance, membership in the elite social club of the town is restricted to whites only, but in fact, some non whites are members. The membership of these individuals can be explained on the basis of the multi-criteria ranking system : they are members because they "have an excess of money or some other prestige factor in a ratio inversely proportional to their racial 'deficiency'." (Harris 1971 : 129).

The urban system of stratification found in the Bengali town of Mahishadal seems to be quite similar to that encountered by Harris in Brazil, except that the racial distinctions of the Brazilian setting have been replaced by caste distinctions in South Asia. Harris found that "wealth, occupation, and education......have to a certain extent the power of defining race." (Harris 1971 : 126).

In Mahishdal, while wealth, high educational attainment, and a high ranking occupation cannot change the caste of a man from low to high, they can and they do allow low caste status to be *overlooked* in cases where a man meets the other qualifications for upper class status. The multi-criteria ranking system may explain why the elite mens' social club in Mahishadal includes members from the lowest as well as the highest castes in the local ranking system. Caste does not determine status : it is one of many factors involved.

The Rural Stratification system

It is particularly interesting that even in the villages of the the locality status in not based only on caste rank. Rural social structure in southeastern Midnapore is characterized by its relative lack of stratification. Villages in the area typically contain only a small number of castes, with Mahishya cultivators forming the bulk of the population (Nicholas 1963). While the rural stratification system is closed and interactional in nature, in practice most village activity involves people of same caste : interaction between difference caste groups *per se* tends to be relatively infrequent and comparatively unimportant (Nicholas 1967). There is no conflict between the

urban stratification system operating in the town and the rural system characteristic of the region, and an individual may move daily between village home and town employment without being aware of any change in his frame of reference for behavior.

Conclusion

The particular charoteristics of the urban/rural stratification system operating in the town of Mahishadal are to some extent unique, due to the history of the town as an adminstrative center attracting many "foreigners", and the town's location in a region in which the high degree of stratification "characteristic" of South Asia as a culture area is largely absent. However, Mahishadal may also be viewed as an example of a particular class of urban centers-rural towns, small in size, highly "urban" in diversity of population and occupational structure, and yet strongly oriented to the immediate locality. To date, little research has been done on rural towns of this type in South Asia or in other culture areas. Until more comparative data are available it will not be possible to sort out those factors of Mahishadal social structure reflecting southeastern Midnapoore, those reflecting Bengal and South Asia in general, and those typical of the town as one example of a class of urban centers to be found in most peasant societies.

FOOTNOTES

1. A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the 73rd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association.
2. Field research was carried out between 1968 and 1970, while the author was a doctoral candidate at Michigan State University. Research was Supported by a Fulbright-Hays grant.
3. The technique used to arrive at the "collective caste hierarchy" is described in Marriott (1968).

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Varna—Jati system and poverty in contemporary India: Exchange of Notes.

Dear Dr. Mishra,

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of September 26, 1974 and the report on the weaker sections.* I have read the report with great interest, and I must hasten to say that your survey of trends and views relating to rural poverty and the abstracts of the major reports on the state of affair in various parts of South India, particularly by Morab, Rajalakshmi, Mathur and Ambekar, have deeply moved me. I congratulate all of you and to Dr. Sinha for this urgently needed venture.

Gleaning through the reports I was struck by the sense of restrain which all of you have shown in dealing with such self-conscious area as poverty. Indeally, a social sctentist has to be dispassionate in the analysis of his data, but in actual practice he seldom shows the equanimity of a pathologist. Let us admit the limitation of social science. Yet, as we all know, a good social scientist always tries to restrain his emotions to minimize the biases. It is in this context that I find your factual report exceedingly valuable. But if I am to point out the gaps which seem to me important for your consideration. I would say that you have presented only an "outsider's view" of the situation. The facts presented in these reports repeat only what the economists and sociologists have been saying all these years. An anthropologist is expected to do a little more, to go into the finer details and persue the problem in the manner he treats his data on kinship or religious symbolism.

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*In 1974 a seminar was organised at Mysore by Dr. Promode Misra of Anthropological Survey of India, to discuss the results of a research project on the conditions of the Weaker Section of the population in rural South India. The cyclostyled papers were sent to Dr. Baidyanath Saraswati for comments. We are publishing here Dr. Saraswati's comments and Dr. Misra's rejoinder to the same along with a brief note from Ranjit Bhattacharya, as they raise some fundamental issues.

You have rightly pointed out the politico-economic dimension of the problem and the colonial and bureaucratic factors responsible for perpetuating poverty and misery in the country. But, I feel, sufficient attention has not been paid to the societal or cultural area where poverty operates as as a self-perpetuating system. All of you have noted the caste composition of the Weaker Section and the *fact that certain* castes are below poverty line. This identification of the poverty stricken castes is welldone, but is not enough to explain historically how they have maintained themselves in time and space. Your observation that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer is unquestionable. But besides the factorial elements which you have enlisted in this regard, to me it appears that in recent times the new concept of poverty, the loosened caste relationship and the breakdown of the old social mechanism of self-regulation have aggravated the situation manifold. There may be many more such faotors which can be accounted for by examining the inner structuring of the contemporary society. I am making this suggestion on the basis of a limited observation, but I hope you get my point. In brief what i am trying to suggest is that if the poor is getting poorer there must be some intrinsic flaw in the new arrangement.

Then why not look for an alternative system and why not examine the elements of the old system which provided minimum economic security to all the members of the society and obviously minimized the severity of poverty by idealizing "self-imposed poverty" among the elites and by institutional mechanism which helped people in "shafing poverty" through *jajmani* and fictitious kinship across caste and class. I will not go into the details of how the Varnashram system handled the problems of poverty uniquely, nor I am suggesting the procrustean adherance of the old order. What I am trying to say is that we must not lose sight of the success stories of our old system, the ancient wisdom and experiences of a highly developed society.

Poverty is a social evil which can be eradicated best by social mechanism or by a strong political power committed to do away with it, as in communism. If we want to weed out

this problem by a non-violent and peaceful means and if we want to live as a democratic nation we must develop forthwith institutional mechanism capable to handle the problems of poverty. The failures of the government and the lapses on the part of the political leaders have to be exposed necessarily for efficient functioning of democracy. But more than this what we can do as social scientist is to expose societal factors which perpetuate abject poverty, and explore the social mechanism which may help eradicate poverty. In my opinion, the basic question which the social scientist must directly address themselves to are as follows: What are the casual factors responsible for social inequality? What measures the society adopts for levelling down the societal imbalances? How does the society conceive poverty in terms of self-respect? What are the normative and prescriptive laws protecting human rights at societal level? Whether the old institutional mechanism upholding these laws is functional? If not, how do we go about building up new social institutions which may effectively operate as protective mechanism? What concrete suggestions have to we offer to the political authority and the government in regard to remedial measures that may be adopted for the eradication of poverty, untouchability and such other social evils? In this venture we must limit ourselves to social and cultural areas of the problem, for we must admit our incompetency in dealing with complex economic issues. What I am trying to impress upon you is that we must not be overwhelmed by the failures, for there have also been success stories of our civilization. I appreciate your anxiety and impatience over these burning issues, but how does it help solve the problem. Like a student of pharmaceutical research we have to recommend societal measures only after making careful experimentation. We must also look into the feasibility of our suggestions, for unless our suggestions are carried through, in concrete terms, by social workers and the government we will be only crying in the wilderness. Indeed, the country needs more social workers and less arm-chair social scientists, more voluntary agencies fighting the cause of poverty and less governmental doles, and more work than slogans, more cons-

tructive programme than sophisticated theories. I am no more attracted by the sickening slogans of the ivory-tower intellectuals, and indeed I am seriously thinking to give up research in favour of social work. Perhaps I will be doing experimental anthropology.

There are only a few people with whom I can share my *deep anguish, you are one of them and hence this longish* letter.

A student of Delhi university is presently associated with the Bose Foundation. She is working on the Doms of Kashi: their problems of social incompatibility and the role of religion. She will be happily benefited by the findings of your work. Would you kindly send her a copy of your report at the following address: Miss. Meena Kapoor, Bose Memorial Foundation, D-36/15, Agastyakunda, Varanasi-1.

With warm affection and kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
Baidyanath Saraswati

Dear Dr. Saraswati,

Many thanks for your very kind letter No. 10-3161 dated October 8, 1974. I immensely liked your letter and I think what you wrote in it was very important and therefore I got it circulated among our colleagues here. We also had some discussions on it. I liked your letter and considered it important not because I agree with what you write there but just for the opposite reasons. I find your views diametrically opposed to mine, and this, along with your dispassionate and friendly letter, made me to re-examine my own views. The more I re-examined my position, the more I realised the value of your letter. The things which were fuzzy became clear when I started looking at them from two opposed perspectives, yours and mine. This whole exercise has proved to be intellectually fruitful but at the same time I feely very angry. If I lack restrain in my language, as you normally have, I hope you will excuse me.

The dilemma of outsider's point of view and insider's point of view is hard to resolve. Do you really believe that when the anthropologists say that they are presenting insider's view it is really the view of the insiders? I doubt it, and you have no way to convince me otherwise. Now even if it was true that the anthropologists are able to present insider's point of view, how is that out of innumerable studies on caste, there are only a few which present the picture of the caste system inside out. Apart from this the debate about insider's and outsider's view is irrelavant when we are talking about the nexus of social relations.

In your letter you write 'the old systems which provided minimum economic security to all the members of the society and obviously minimized the severety of poverty by idealizing 'self imposed poverty' among the elites and by institutional mechanism which helped people in sharing poverty through jajmani and fictious kinship across caste and class'. This is an assumption of mythical glorious past and I do not at all agree with it. There have been any number of famines in this country where mainly poor died. If there was minimum economic security how does one explain scores of revolts by tribal groups and landless labourers to throw away the hegemony of the landowning castes, money lenders etc. If the institutional arrangement provided people to share poverty why then there emerged number of heroes who opposed the existing system. Jajmani system is one of the worst forms through which the higher castes and classes maintained a stranglehold on landless lower castes. Any voice opposing the system was stifled. It also disallowed any coalition of interests among the poor working people and they remained divided among themselves. Fictional kinship is only a device by which lower classes are cheered up to take the severe oppression a little lightly. Self imposed poverty is a gloss if it is not supported with egalitarian views and equality of opportunity. Even in its absolute sense, ordinarily a Brahmin in South India might be wearing a cotton dhoti of 8 cubits, but what about silver vessels, jewellery, diamonds and silks which are always associated with their culture. Food of Brahmins may appear

very pure and frugal but it was the very best in vegetarian diet. The language of the Brahmins and of higher caste has always been different from others and has always been considered superior. Then what about the pollution. Kerala and Tamil Nadu produced Brahmin of the highest learning and scholarship and the pandits from these areas were exported to all the places in the country But in the same very places untouchability of the worst kind was practiced. They not only observed touch pollution but also the space and sight pollution. The various lower castes had to maintain certain fixed distances from the celebrated Brahmins and some were not allowed to come out in the day time. If stone vessels in Brahmin houses were merely seen by the lower castes the vessels were polluted and immediately destroyed. Till very recently no Harijan caste in Kerala was allowed to tile the roofs of their houses. Even now all over the country certain lower castes work as bonded labourers to the landowning castes. They had no place to take their grievances and by and large they still do not have a chance to succeed if they dare to take their grievances to certain quarters. They could be punished at any time by the higher castes and even now their women could be molested by the higher caste people at will. In face of all these facts I do not know how one can talk about the glories of our 'great civilization'. To my mind, if the future historians write a history of the modern western world and say that it was a great civilization simply because it had multistoryed buildings, impressive statistics or production and consumption, great names in the field of pure and social sciences and great liberal scholars, statesman, they would be committing the same mistake as often we tend to do in the case of our own country.

Coming to the present times which we now happen to know pretty well, there is no use singing mythical glories of the past; there is virtual class war going on. Wherever the working people whose aspirations have been raised due to universal franchise, education and modern ideas, have raised their voices they have been crushed. It was only last year when in Tanjavour, 43 Harijans, mainly women and children

were burnt alive by the local landlords ; recently in Gujarat the whole Harijan colony in one of the vilages was rased to ground. These are not peculiar to Gujarat and Tamil Nadu but occur daily all over the country. In the tribal area where I am working, the tie-up of the local landlords, the lower levels of bureaucracy and police is complete against the poor tribal folks. In the face of such facts where is the scope of self-imposed poverty, I am also not prepared to take a helpless attitude as 'self perpeturating aspect of poverty'. Poverty is not self perpetuating but is imposed by those who have powers to do that so that they can keep themselves afloat. Poverty is not a certain small amount of goods nor is it just a relation of means and ends. It is a relation between people. Poverty is a sort of *social status*, it has grown with that civilization which we tend to be proud of.

I agree with you that we will have to go deeper into the problem, but not in the sense you have indicated like a student of 'pharmaceutical research'. The comparision is farcical. A student of pharamaceutical research is a technologist and works in a laboratory situation where his 'person' is of no consequence. But in our case we have our positions, interests and view points. To my mind the basic question is not the eradication of poverty or untouchability these are mere symptoms of a deeper malaise. The basic question is to understand and expose those social relations and ideologies which cause inequality in society and consequentally poverty and untouchability.

Our role at best could be a limited one and that is to provide such material which will expose the underlying processes and mechanism causing inequality, exploitation, poverty etc. Hopefully such materials wiil strengthen the revolutionary forces. The strategy, the course of action and the goals have to be decided by the masses themselves.

I am glad to learn that you are planning to be more action oriented. Hopefully, if you do so, we would all like to learn from your experience.

I am sending a set of papers to Miss. Meena Kapoor.

With very warm regards.

Yours sincerely.
P. K. Misra

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were burnt alive by the local landlords; recently in Gujarat the whole Harijan colony in one of the vilages was rased to ground. These are not peculiar to Gujarat and Tamil Nadu but occur daily all over the country. In the tribal area where I am working, the tie-up of the local landlords, the lower levels of bureaucracy and police is complete against the poor tribal folks. In the face of such facts where is the scope of self-imposed poverty, I am also not prepared to take a helpless attitude as 'self perpeturating aspect of poverty'. Poverty is not self perpetuating but is imposed by those who have powers to do that so that they can keep themselves afloat. Poverty is not a certain small amount of goods nor is it just a relation of means and ends. It is a relation between people. Poverty is a sort of *social status*, it has grown with that civilization which we tend to be proud of.

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I am sending a set of papers to Miss. Meena Kapoor.

With very warm regards.

Yours sincerely.
P. K. Misra

Sir,

I find Dr. Saraswati's letter and the subsequent reply of Dr. Mishra interesting.

I may first of all point out that the special knack of an anthropologist would be to secure an intimate view of human society. Naturally one should not take the phrase "outsider's view" too literally. What I understand from Dr. Saraswati's use of this phrase in his letter, specially in the context where he clearly mentions our manner of dealing with religious the problem symbolism or kinship, is that he requests a deeper probing into of poverty, e.g., how poverty has been handled in the traditional system of caste vis-a-vis the other system, namely, the present "democratic" system. I wonder if we could have known the whole range of contrivances that different civilizations have at their disposal to deal with poverty. Here I may mention some of the major contrivances viz. : Slavery, class system and system of hierarchy, such as caste.

One of the scholarly issues that interest me is the controversy between "perpetuation of poverty" and "poverty—an imposed aspect of human civilization." Primitive world, is, in a way, devoid of poverty. The worth envisaging point is to study at what stage of economic, cultural and social development of a particular human society, we often notice the symptom of poverty as a social phenomenon. We may also enquire how the problem of "poverty" at various stages of development of societies is being tackled by the individuals concerned.

I do not want to stress the point of self perpetuation of poverty too far. However, it is no use denying the fact where people live for ceneratious under acute poverty-stricken condition. Let us think of social values, aspirations and "world view" of people and the process of "socialization" of children in such social situation. This is an area of enquiry where we really need careful and unbiased studies.

Ranjit Bhattacharya

Comments on "the Native hits Back"

I read Sinha's note, "The 'Native' Hits Back" (*Man in India*. Vol. 55 No. 1, 19J5, P. 78-81) with interest. He has taken up a topic, awakening of silent indigens, which apart from it's high anthropological relevance, is likely to arouse general interest. For Indian anthropologists in particular, the essay is of high pragmatic import. But noting the confusions that have arisen on account of apparently discrete and sharply defined issues, I feel somewhat distressed.

Awakening of the hitherto silent indigens is perhaps a world phenomenon and its emergence urgently necessitates a review of anthropologists' position, with particular reference to their field approach. The community of anthropologists will appreciate the spirit of Sinha's endeavour for drawing its attention to this fundamental problem.

Sinha refers to Hau'ofa's erticle in order to familiarise us with natives' reaction to projection of their society by exogeneous anthropologists. May I ask in this connection whether Hau'ofa speaks as a native or as an anthropologist ? Let us examine Sinha's citation of Hau'ofa : "Essentially, what the Pacific peoples expect of *us* (underliniag mine) is to be more of a novelist and the social historian and less of the scientists who speak in jargons". Here *us* certainly does not stand for the native though Hau'ofa, in terms of ethnicity, is one. He speaks as a member of the community of anthropologists.

It appears important to examine credibility of outside anthropologists working among the indigeneous intelligentsia. This is rather a serious issue as it challenges the integrity of anthropology as a discipline. In the Indian situation, as referred to by Sinha, a Senior Fellow of the Anthropological Survey of India (an indigen) intends to control activities of exogeneous (?) research scholars undertaken in the administrative district he hails from. Several questions may be asked here : does he do so as an anthropologist or as a fellowman of the district ? Whatever his response might be the argument appears lopsided in the sense that it should not be the question

of credibility of [illegible] working among indigenous intelligentsia, rather it should be the question of credibility of indigens in challenging the expertise of anthropologists. Sinha has wriggled himself out of the issue without making his viewpoints explicit. But facts demand an examination of the issue, "who are exogeneous"?

A fundamental question here is whether Indian anthropologists hailing from other than Purulia District are exogenous at Purulia in the same sense as the European anthropologists are in Papua or New Guinea. *If the response is in the affirmative, then the Senior Fellow is perhaps right in complaining of heavy influence and upper caste stance of anthropologists coming from outside the district. Still, the question remains, whom does the Senior Fellow represent. If he speaks as Hau'ofa did, it is understandable as he tries to assess reactions of 'natives' as an insider. But when he asserts it as his right* to scrutinise activities of other anthropologists in Purulia District just because he happens to hail from that quarter, perhaps he loses his cedibility to speak as an anthropologist. A scientists' review of findings of fellow scientists is appreciable but that should be free from any mundane influence.

Let us examine what do we understand by "exogeneous upper caste". Are members of upper castes really exogeneous in relation to non-upper castes? The way ethnic stratifications have emerged in the Pacific islands has no parallel to the caste stratifications in India. Both are stratification systems no doubt but caste has its inherent corporate characters as well. So, inspite of segregation of castes, their network of interdependence represents the totality 'we' in the particular context.

If natives feel that the information anthropologists gather immediately benefit themselves only and in turn pay nothing to the indigens, the charge is genuine. This is also true for all sciences. Then why should anthropologists particularly feel defensive about it. Further, scientists do not have as much control over application of their findings as over programming the research strategy. Then why should the

question of application of results be an impediment to carrying out researches.

The demand is perhaps due to classification of anthropology as a social science. Anthropologists can always review their role as social scientists and inspite of definite disadvantage of getting involved into issues of developmental programmes, in the Indian context a larger emphasis on the question of social relevance of scientific researches is perhaps imperative.

Mishra's plea for involving indigens in various phases of planning and implementation of developmental programmes is valid, though anthropologists have little control over the mechanism. The issue is primarily of administrative and executive relevance. But if Mishra proposes to involve the local intelligentsia in various phases in research programming, I have many reservations whether we can afford that without damaging integrity of the discipline. A research project should first of all be defined in terms of its scientific interest and in comparison the question of involving indigens is only secondary to the issue. I very much like the idea of involving local experts to the project at all phases of its growth but fail to see the wisdom of involving non-expert indegens in research designing. Apart from the problem of questionable initiative and non-expert interference this may in no way lessen frustration of economic deprivation of the people as referred to by Talyaga. What Burman does or Bose did in comparable situations in India are certainly valid and welcome. Continuous dialogue with the local intellegentsia is one issue, their involvement in research planning is another. A dialogue will make anthropologists aware of emerging bents of natives' mind. But this does not extend colleagueship to them in the professional sense of the term.

Ajit Danda

BOOK REVIEWS

Census of India : Jewellery and Ornaments in India—A historical outline by M. K. Pal and B. K. Roy Burman ; *Series No. 1, Paper No. 1 ; 1970. Office of the Registrar-General, India, New Delhi ; pp. ix + 14, Photographs 12 ; Price Rs. 4.25, 9sh. 11d.*, $1.53.

This is an ancillary product of the Office of the Registrar-General, India. The main body of the report runs only 6 pages and the rest is descriptions of illustrations (8 pages) and 18 plates with 72 photographs.

In the six page text the authors have traced the history of the jewellery and ornaments right from the Harappan period to the modern time, mentioning the archaeological sites from where jewellery and ornaments have been discovered. The authors have dicussed the distribution pattern of the ornaments in different periodic divisions as between (i) 7th cent. B. C. and 3rd cent. B. C., (ii) 2nd cent. B. C. and 3rd cent. A. D., (iii) 6th cent. A. D. and 750 A. D. and so on, with a general discussion on forms and designs of the ornaments. However, the basis of the periodic divisions has not been given.

The discussion on historical outline is very sketchy and, as a result, the volume has taken the shape of a museum brochure. It would have been better, if along with the coverage of craft history, forms, motifs and design, the authors could have discussed the socio-economic aspects of the crafts and the craftsmen through the centuries,

Census of India 1961 : A monograph on Paky or Moti, Volume II, Ethnographic notes—Part VB(6) ; Edited by P. S. R. Avadhanya, A. M. Kurup and B. K. Roy Burman : *Office of the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad ; pp. vi + 20, Photographs 8, Price Rs. 3 30, 7sh. 9d., $1.19*,8

Census of India 1961 : A monograph on Dandasi, Volume II, Ethnographic notes—Part VB (7) ; Edited by P. S. R. Avadhany, A. M. Kurup and B. K. Roy Burman : *Office of the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad ; pp. vi + 21, Photographs 11, Price Rs. 3.70, 8sh. 5d., $ 1.30.*

AND

Census of India ; Ethnographic Notes on Yerukula or Koracha, Boyas, Nirshikaris and Pardhis and Balasanthosha, Port VB(8) ; Edited by B. K. Roy Burman, P. S. B. Avadhany and A. M. Kurup : *Office of the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabod : pp. vi + 16, Photographs 45, Price Rs 7.50, 17sh. 6d, $ 2.70.*

The ethnographic notes on two scheduled castes—Paky and Dandasi and the scheduled tribes Yerukula, Boyas. Nirshikaris and Pardhis, and Balasanthosha of Andhra Pradesh are further additions to the 'ethnographic series', published by the Office of the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, with the cooperation of the Office of the Registar-General, India, New Delhi.

All these ethnographic monographs have been prepared within the specified framework prescribed by the Registrar-General's Office, New Delhi, which broadly covers various aspects like origin, history, family-clan, material culture, economic life, life cycle, religion etc., of the communities under discussion. These small monographs give standardized general information on the customs and practices of the above communities of Andhra Pradesh in a traditional ethnographic style. These monographs provide useful background information for organising specialized research on these communities and can also be fruitfully utilised by administrators and social workers. P. Dash Sharma

The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India *by R. V. Russell assisted by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal. Anthropological Publications, Oosterhout N. B.—The Netherlands. (Originally published in 1916). Four volumes.*

It is indeed a delight for any ethnographer of the Indian sub-continent to have a beautifully...reprinted edition of the classic by Russell and Lal on the tribes and castes of the Central Provinces of India. We are again impressed by the vigour of the urge for discovery of variation in ethnic customs which marked that generation of British administrator scholars. There is no point in criticizing these stupendous endeavours for ethnographic glossaries in terms of recent developments in modern anthropology. We are all aware that the ethnographic notes on tribes and castes are uneven in quality and coverage and they often lack specific information in terms of location and time and tend to give a static pictures of stereotyped traditional patterns.

From the Preface we learn that the senior author was deeply influenced by theoretical ideas of cultural evolutionists like Tylor, Frazer, Robertson Smith and Westermarck, and, of course, by the earlier compendia on tribes and castes prepared by Ibbetson and Crooke.

The first volume begins with an "Introductory Essay on Caste", which would impress any one by the sweep of coverage in terms of data as well as theoretical and analytical thinking. There are insightful speculations on ethnic and occupational basis of caste system, problems of absorption of tribes into the caste system, formation of sub castes, relation of castes and tribes to totemism and exogamy, nature of primitive concepts and religion in tribal and caste societies. There are also discussions on relationship between Hindu religious beliefs and practices and caste system and on 'decline of the caste system'.

The first part includes ethno-historical notes on twenty sects, including Hindu, Jain, Sikh, Parsi as well as Muhammedan religions. The entries in volumes II, III and IV, cover as many as 207 castes and tribes. We get a feel for a remarkable spectrum of diversity in traditional occupation in Central India which is indeed very characteristic of Indian Civilization, We learn that there are castes like Radhak who are professional 'robbers', Kanjar who are 'gipsies and prostitutes', Nat ('acrobat'), Pindari (Free booters), Mirasi (Bard and genealogist), and so on.

The section on the Gond has been covered very thoroughly indeed. We have an elaborate reporting on the origin Lingo myth of the Gonds and how several occupational castes such as the Ojhas, Pardhans, Sotahas, Koilabhutis have sprung from the Gonds on the basis of admixture of other tribes and castes. There is also an observation that the Gonds are divided into an aristrocratic division Raj-Gond and the commoners, the Dhur Gond. It is resported that "The Raj-Gonds rank with the Hindu cultivating castes, and Brahmans will take water from them. They sometimes wear the sacred thread".

Although the volumes are essentially compendia of discrete notes on ethnic customs, it should be possible for a discerning scholar to get from these volumes an idea of the nature of inter-relationship among castes, and also between tribes and castes. We can also get some ideas on processes like sub-caste formation, absorpition of tribes into the caste system, emergences of social classes among the tribes and so on. We are indeed grateful to scholars like Russell and Lall for leaving a tremendous mine of carefully sifted ethnographic information on the peoples of India for generations of scholars. S. Sinha

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CASTE VARIANTS OF SANSKRITIZATION THE BRAHMINS, RAJPUTS AND BHUMIHARS OF EASTERN UTTAR PRADESH*

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Abstract: Brahmin and Rajput variants of Sanskritic and Western life styles are scaled by way of step-wise regression analysis of survey data gathered in Ballia District, U. P. Comparing other castes on these scales reveals that (1) the Brahmins and Rajputs and the nine other castes of the study are more distinct from each other in terms of Sanskritic life styles than in terms of Western ones; (2) caste means on the scales tend to rank the castes in order of ritual prestige; the Sanskritization scale appears to correlate well enough with ritual prestige to be regarded as an attributional measure of ritual prestige; (3) an item-by-item comparison of Bhumihars, Brahmins, and Rajputs show Bhumihars to be ritually more like Brahmins than Rajputs but more like Rajputs in terms of occupation and education.

Problem

EVER since M. N. Srinivas coined the terms "Sanskritization" in his *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India* (1952), social scientists have attempted to refine

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their understanding of that process by which a "low" Hindu caste, or tribal or other group changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, "twice-born" caste.[1]

While Srinivas initially emphasized Brahminical models, other scholars subsequently pointed out the existence of warrior caste models (Pocock, 1955) and of Vaishya and Shudra models (Singer, 1964). In these same articles, Pocock and Singer and Srinivas have noted that gaining a full understanding of Sanskritization is further complicated by the existence of regional variations in the life styles of castes serving as role models for Sanskritizing castes.

Paralleling the literature on Sanskritization is a growing body of literature on Westernization, the taking on of life styles characteristic of urban middle classes of industrialized nations. This is much the same process which others have labelled "modernism" (Kahl, 1968) and "individual modernity" (Smith and Inkeles, 1968 ; Inkeles, 1969). Srinivas considers both Sanskritization and Westernization to be paths by which castes attempt to upgrade or, in the case of high castes, maintain a hold on high ritual status. Arguing that these processes will have differental appeal and/or utility to the aspiring caste depending on its present position in the local ritual prestige hierarchy, Srinivas posits a developmental scheme whereby castes first Sanskritize before Westernizing :

> One of the many interesting contradictions of modern Hindu social life is that while the Brahmins are becoming more and more Westernized, the other castes are becoming more and more Sanskritized. In the lower reaches of the hierarchy, castes are taking up customs which the Brahmins are busy discarding. As far as these castes are concerned, it looks as though Sanskritization is an essential preliminary to Westernization.[2]

Before Srinivas' hypothesis can be tested in a rigorous way, it is necessary to operationalize caste variants of Sanskritization and Westernization. This is one of the major tasks of the present paper. In an earlier paper I have reported findings that show Sanskritization to consist minimally of three

separate dimensions related to world view, religious practices, and treatment of low castes and women. In this earlier paper, the dimensions of Sanskritization were determined by factor analysis of data for 1303 adult males representing eleven castes in Ballia District of eastern Uttar Pradesh. By contrast in the present analysis, the analysis begins with data for only Brahmins and Rajputs in order to arrive at scales which measure differences in the life styles of those two high castes. These scales of "Brahminism-Rajputism" measured in terms of both Sanskritization and Westernization are then used to determine the extent to which other castes' life styles compare with those of each of the two main dominant castes of the region studied. In that separate scales for both Westernization and Sanskritization will be constructed, it will be possible to determine which set of life styles—Sanskritic or Western—more clearly differentiate castes of roughly similar ritual prestige. For example, are Dhobis (washermen) and Chamars (leather workers and agricultural workers) more distinguishable from each other in terms of high caste variants of Sanskritization or of Westernization ?

In these comparisons of life styles of castes, particular attention will be given to the Bhumihars, a high ranking caste of agriculturalists who tend their own fields rather than hire others to do this for them. Their identity and origins have been linked to both Brahmins and Rajputs. Deriving their name from "bhum" (Skt.: "land"), the Bhumihars of Ballia District are most commonly referred to as "Bhumihar Brahmins" and are often regarded by themselves and others as a non-priestly branch of Brahmins only slightly inferior in ritual status to the priestly Brahmin sub-castes. Crooke (1896) notes that they are also known as "zamindar Brahmins" and "Bhumihar Thakurs," the latter title being a reference to their alleged ties with the warrior castes. Crooke (1896: 64-70) reports that Risley considers the Bhumihars to be Rajputs because of their having both Rajput and Brahmin *gotras* (lines of descent); if they really were Brahmins, reasons Risley, they would not have demoted themselves by taking on the names of Rajput *gotras*. Crooke, on the other hand, notes that Bhumihar

gotras are structurally more like those of Brahmins and that Bhumihars are more like Brahmins than Rajputs in important ritual practices such as vegetarianism and length of the sacred thread as well as in character, or temperament.

To the confusion on the origin of Bhumihars is added a third hypothesis which holds that they are descendants of early Buddhists who migrated from the once important Buddhist centers of Bodh Gaya and Nalanda in Bihar. Local proponents of this theory hold that Bhumihars are found in greatest number near Bodh Gaya and diminish in number as one travels away from Bodh Gaya. Survey data are not appropriate for determining the validity of this or of the other theories which have been offered concerning the origins of Bhumihars. However, what we can and will do is determine which caste—Brahmins or Rajputs—the Bhumihars of Ballia District are more nearly alike in life style, at the present time. Hopefully, our findings will provide useful leads for social historians interested in tracing the development of Bhumihar life styles. It is also our hope that our data will provide benchmarks against which any regional difference or change over time in life style of Bhumihars and the other castes of this study may be assessed.

Setting and Sample

The field work for this paper was conducted in 1969 and 1970 in Ballia District of eastern Uttar Pradesh, a region known beforehand to contain large numbers of Brahmins, Rajputs and various middle and low castes.[3] A total of 1053 married men aged 30-44 and divided roughly evenly among eleven castes were interviewed. When possible, fathers of these men were interviewed (N = 260). The interviewed individuals were selected randomly from lists of eligible men for each caste ; we obtained these lists by first conducting a door-to-door census of Ballia proper, the district headquarters of about 70,000 persons, and of 17 outlying villages of an isolated block of the district. For further details on the setting and sampling procedures, see Hertel, 1971.

Interview Schedule

The interview schedule included some 69 items, many with multiple parts, pertaining to (1) measures of *social status* including occupation, income, and education. (2) *behavior* with regard to respondents' travel experience, religious, medical, and agricultural practices, and for some of these items, behavior of wives as well, and (3) *attitudes* toward a wide range of subjects including government, priests, respect for elders, low castes, women, the importance of fate, concern for promptness, ritual pollution, etc. The schedule included nearly all of the items of Short Form 2 of the OM scale, developed by Smith and Inkeles and their research associates in the course of a six-nation study of individual modernity.[4] Complementing these widely applicable items of the OM scale were a set of items developed largely by A. K. Singh to measure individual modernity specific to the context of Indian culture; these items concern such things as preference of tooth brush or *datwan*, end or continuation of dowry, and so forth.[5] Other items were borrowed from other sources too numerous to mention and still others were suggested by our contact with the research setting.

The interview schedule was administered in Hindi by college-aged males from Ballia and surrounding districts who understood Bhojpuri, needed for field work in village areas. These assistants received extensive training before taking to the field to gather census data and to conduct interviews. Care was taken to rotate interviewers from village to village and from caste to caste so that no one interviewer was largely responsible for recording the data for any given caste or village. Checks for interviewer effects were made in the field as well as later by statistical analysis; the findings from these checks showed some differences across interviewers but the differences did not appear to warrant major concern; see Hertel (1971: 133-36).

Procedure for Defining Brahmin and Rajput Variants of Sanskritization and Westernization

The first and most difficult step in analysing the data was

to sort the items according to whether they were more closely related to Sanskritization or Westernization. In the end, I decided to sort on the basis of whether or not items dealt only with themes which might have differentiated the life styles of high castes prior to the British period. The 71 items selected on the basis of this criterion as potential measures of Sanskritic variants of high caste life styles pertain to religious practices such as vegetarianism and puja, ideas on causality, attitudes toward low castes, women, and Brahmins and to other customs and values of Hinduism broadly defined. The Western pool includes 42 items which deal with such themes as practices and attitudes toward newspapers, travel, factories, valuation of time, Western medicine, birth control, and ownership of pens, full pants, bycycles and other innovations of industrialized society. Keeping in mind our sorting criterion, we included in the Western pool those items which pitted a traditional mode of doing things against a modern alternative—e.g. preference for well water vs. running water—as such a choice would not have been possible in earlier times. While education is clearly relevant to Westernization,[6] we included this item in the Sanskritic pool because of the traditional involvement of Brahmins in the professions of priest, teacher, and doctor which require formal training unlike the occupations of most of the other castes of the study. The appropriateness of education level as a measure of both Sanskritization and Westernization suggests that these two processes are probably neither opposites nor unrelated but instead overlap with each other to a certain extent.

Once the items were sorted, step-wise regression was used to determine which items best differentiate between Brahmins and Rajputs.[7] This procedure treats caste as the *dependent* variable to be predicted by the two separate pools of items pertaining to Sanskritic and Western life styles. A strength of this procedure is that it is parsimonious: a maximum amount of variance in the dependent variable is explained by a minimum number of predictor variables each entered into a regression equation one at a time in order of their relative capacities for accounting for unexplained variance. Further-

more, it is possible to specify criteria in advance for including items in each regression equation.[8] This procedure for defining the Brahmin and Rajput variants of Sanskritization and of Westernization was applied on rural data only because of our greater concern for Sanskritization and our belief that villagers better reflect traditional life styles. The sample sizes included in this analysis were as follows: 89 Brahmin sons and 26 fathers and 71 Rajput sons and 25 fathers.

Findings

Brahmin ana Rajput Variants of Sanskritization

The items which most distinguish Brahmin and Rajput variants of Sanskritization fall into two categories: (1) those items which concern social status and (2) those which concern religious practices, broadly defined. As shown in Table 1-a, Brahmins are much more likely than Rajputs to have left traditional occupations in favor of jobs not central to the priestly identity of that caste. Thus, only 19 per cent of the Brahmin sons in the sample are priests, astrologers, doctors, or teachers[9] while fully 89 per cent of the Rajput sons remain employed in one or the other of their traditional occupations of farmer, governmental administrators, and soldier. Not surprisingly, Brahmins were found to have appreciably higher mean education levels, 8.1 years compared with 6.4 years for Rajputs. This difference is easily accounted for by Brahmins' greater involvement in the professions and in other non-agricultural occupations requiring at least some formal training.

The remaining Sanskritic items which distinguish Brahmins from Rajputs pertain to various aspects of Hinduism. One such item that is also in part a measure of social class is the presence of a worship room in the home; Brahmins were much more inclined to have a room or part of a room for puja. Several other items concern wife's religious practices. Compared with Rajput wives, Brahmin wives are more active in temple puja and vegetarianism. That this pair of items concerning wives' behavior differentiate Brahmin and Rajput life styles more clearly than the parallel set of items for their

TABLE 1-a

The Sanskritic items which distinguish between Brahmin and Rajput Life Styles (N=211)

Rank of Item	*Item*	*Standardized Regression Coefficient**	*Level of Significance*	*R^2*	*Zero-order r*
1	Whether job traditional caste job	+.501	.000	.429	+.655
2	Vegetarianism of wife	−.245	.000	.518	−.476
3	Ownership of worship room	−.120	.001	.541	−.347
4	Taking of fried food only	−.167	.003	.560	−.322
5	Education level	+.161	.001	.582	+.221
6	Frequency of wife's temple puja	−.101	.034	.591	−.228

TABLE 1-b

The Western items which distinguish between Brahmin and Rajput Life Styles

Rank of Item	*Item*	*Standardized Regression Coefficient**	*Level of Significance*	*R^2*	*Zero-order r*
1	Freq. of newspaper reading	+.148	.000	.071	+.268
2	Ownership of porcelain cups	−.332	.004	.107	−.123
3	Ownership of pen	+.235	.000	.165	+.248
4	Ownership of latrine	+.186	.002	.203	+.216
5	Ownership of Western pants	+.165	.004	.234	+.227
6	Pref. for Western vs. traditional doctor	−.169	.009	.260	−.174
7	Pref. for well vs. tap water	+.147	.025	.278	+.226

* + = Brahmins more modern ; − = Rajputs more modern.

husbands' behavior suggests that, as in the West, women are the primary keepers of many religious traditions.

Finally, we see from Table 1 that Brahmins observe more stringent rules against intercaste dining, though this difference requires some qualification. Willingness to accept food from other castes was measured in three ways: (1) number of castes in the study from which the respondent would accept no food (0 to 11), (2) number of castes from which he would accept *pakka* food but not *kachcha*, and (3) number of castes from which he would accept both pakka and kachcha food. Of these three measures, it was the second which best distinguished Brahmins from Rajputs. In general, our findings show Brahmins to express willingness to take pakka food from all but the Harijan castes, i.e. priestly and non-priestly Brahmins alike appear willing to take pakka food from those castes served by Brahmin pujaris on special occasions such as weddings and *shraddha* ceremonies which include feasting on pakka food. Rajputs, on the other hand, expressed willingness to take kachcha food about as frequently as pakka food. In actual fact, intercaste dining is largely restricted to formal occasions and pakka food is served. Thus, while Brahmins were much more inclined to express preference for pakka food, differences in actual behavior are not great, neither caste being inclined to accept kachcha food from castes other than their own.

Brahmin and Rajput Variants of Westernization

Brahmins showed themselves to be more Westernized on all but two of the seven items which comprise the Westernization scale. One item, ownership of porcelain cups, is related to the food-taking patterns discussed above. With their greater concern for ritual pollution, Brahmins are more inclined than most castes to prefer tea from throw-away clay cups rather than from reusable porcelain cups or tumblers. This preference, commonly shown at Ballia's teastalls, apparently carries over into the home. The other item on which Brahmins were less Westernized than Rajputs concerns preference for traditional (Auyrvedic) vs. Western medicine. Here, Brahmins' association with the practice of Indian-derived

forms of medicine no doubt is a major factor in the tendency of the Brahmins in our sample to be more favorably disposed than Rajputs toward Ayurvedic doctors. On the remaining five items, Brahmins show themselves to be more Westernized. Their greater involvement in newspaper reading along with their greater tendencies toward owning pens and full pants may be accounted for by their higher education levels and by their greater involvement in non-agrarian occupations. The final two items—ownership of a latrine and preference for tap water over well water are also probably related to occupational differences between these castes. That Rajputs less often own latrines and prefer well water more often than do Brahmins may be due to Rajputs' greater involvement in agriculture and consequent greater reliance on and acceptance of the ways and technology of village India.

In looking at the overall patterns of differences in life styles of Brahmins and Rajputs which emerge from our data, we see that Brahmins are generally more orthodox in terms of Sanskritization and are generally more Westernized as well. This finding is important in that it suggests that castes can simultaneously be highly Sanskritized and highly Westernized. Presumably, it also is possible to Sanskritize and Westernize simultaneously. A second observation is that many of the items which best differentiate Brahmins and Rajputs may be interpreted in terms of occupational and educational differences between these castes. This being the case, the scales appear to be valid measures of high caste variants of life style for the castes and individuals studied.

Thirdly, it is significant that for the village sample on which our findings are based, the life styles of Brahmins and Rajputs are more distinct from each other in terms of Sanskritization items than in terms of Westernization items. This can be seen from the multiple R^2 in column 3 of Table 1. Whereas approximately 60 per cent of variance in caste is explained by the six items in the Sanskritization scale, less than 30 per cent of the variance is explained by the seven Westernization items. Much of this difference is due to the high association between caste and the Sanskritic item concern-

ing occupation. However, the other Sanskritic items also are more highly associated with caste than are the Westernization items ; see column 4 of Table 1-a and 1-b. Quite simply, this finding indicates that village Brahmin and Rajput life styles are more distinct from each other in terms of long-standing differences in occupation, education, and religious practices than in terms of exposure to and preference for Western, or modern, technology and conveniences. In the next section of this paper we shall see that there is little reason to predict a reversal of this pattern in the near future.

Fourthly, the importance of these findings lies not so much in what they reveal about differences in life styles of Brahmins and Rajputs as in their capacity for providing a quantitative basis for comparing the life styles of other castes with those of Brahmins and Rajputs. The literature on Sanskritization and Westernization abounds with references to upwardly mobile castes taking on the characteristics of higher castes. But what precisely are those characteristics which differentiate one twice-born caste from another ? Only with this information in hand is one able to determine the *degree* to which non-dominant castes have taken on the customs and values of specific high castes. This is the topic to be dealt with in the next section of this paper.

Constructing Scales of Brahmin and Rajput Variants of Sanskritization and Westernization

In this initial paper on caste variants of Sanskritic and Western life styles, it is not possible to compare each of the eleven castes on an item-by-item basis. Instead, we shall make comparisons in terms of caste means on scales which summarize the degree to which individuals of each caste approximate Brahmin and Rajput life styles. To obtain these scale scores, the following steps were taken : First, for each individual (N = 1053) scores on each item were multiplied by the respective raw regression coefficient observed for rural Brahmins and Rajputs only. These products were then summed and altered by constants to make the final scale scores more readable. This procedure generates scale scores such that the more nearly an individual's life style approximates that of Brahmins, the

higher his scale score of Westernization or Sanskritization. However, due to the fact that Brahmins were not consistently more or less traditional than Rajputs on the items of either scale, the resulting scale scores cannot be treated as measures of modernity or traditionalism per se. Instead, they are measures of Brahmin and Rajput differences in Sanskritic and Western values and practices, i.e. they are measures of "Brahminism" and "Rajputism".

Interpreting these scale socres is hampered by the fact that they are statistical constructs lacking empirical units. Consequently, important distinctions can be blurred. For example, an individual or caste might register a high Sanskritic score comparable to that of Brahmins but might have done so by gaining many points on only one or two of the six items. This situation occurred in the case of Kayasthas whose very high education level (12.6 years for rural and urban sons) enabled them to obtain a high, Brahmin-like Sanskritization score despite their un-Brahminic egalitarianism with regard to intercaste dining.

Patterns of Sanskritization and Westernization among other Castes

Despite the heterogeneity of items which comprise the Sanskritization and Westernization scales, that these items do comprise a meaningful index is shown in the findings presented in Table 2. Here we see that for rural sons only, as well as for the larger total samples, it is the high castes—Brahmin, Rajput, and Bhumihar—which by and large have the highest scores while the ex-untouchable Dhobis and Chamars have the lowest scores. Ahirs and Kayasthas, generally accorded upper middle caste positions in Ballia district, have rather high Sanskritization scores in keeping with their ritual prestige level. Lower middle castes have somewhat lower Sanskritic life style scores. It is noteworthy that the four artisan and business castes of the study—Kandu (sweetmaker), Sonar (goldsmith), Barhai (carpenter), and Lohar (ironsmith)—show Sanskritization scores that are nearly identical in both the rural and complete samples. Finally, it is significant to note that of the other

TABLE 2

Brahminization and Rajputization are defined largely by Traditional Caste differences

Means on Scales of High-Caste Life Styles

Castes Ranked in Order of Ritual Status	*Rural sons only*		*Rural and urban sons*		N's	
	Sanskritization	Westernization	Sanskritization	Westernization		
Brahmin	178.9	179.0	181.1	172.7	89	145
Rajput	162.0	175.0	135.2	156.0	71	130
Bhumihar	166.7	179.4	145.3	159.6	59	93
Kayastha	140.3	185.1	142.1	183.1	8	68
Ahir	140.1	158.0	124.7	141.3	148	205
Kandu	111.0	164.5	114.8	159.6	83	90
Sonar	118.6	179.0	121.1	175.4	7	65
Barhai	120.9	171.0	121.4	161.1	10	32
Lohar	122.1	161.0	119.0	159.1	6	26
Dhobi	75.4	146.3	79'0	146.7	8	31
Chamar	104.8	148.3	91.4	138.6	98	158
X Caste	122.1	171.0	121.4	159.6	537	1054
s. d. X	28.1	13.0	26.8	13.2		

nine castes, only Bhumihars consistently registered Sanskritic and Western scale scores between the means for Brahmins and Rajputs. This finding, one we shall return to, is consonant with the ethnographic literature which suggests that Bhumihars may properly be regarded in terms of life style and ritual status, if not descent, as a cross between Brahmins and Rajputs having borrowed certain aspects of their life style from Brahmins and other aspects from Rajputs.

The high degree of parallel between castes' ritual status and their Sanskritization scores suggests that our scale could quite effectively be used to index not only life style but ritual status. This being the case, we feel we have met Marriott's challenge to develop a scale of ritual status "by combining dietary, occupational, and other traits in numbers beyond the mind's ready reckoning."[10] The order of our Sanskritization scale to rank castes in approximate order of their ritual prestige

carries the implication that Brahmins and Rajputs do not represent distinct *types* of Sanskritization so much as they represent different *degrees* of Sanskritization, Brahmins being more Sanskritized. This can be seen in the findings that Rajputs obtained Sanskritic scores which are higher than those of any other caste except Brahmin and Bhumihar. In short, Rajputs obtained scores relatively *similar* to those of Brahmins on a scale constructed so as to *maximise differences* between these two castes. Had the Sanskritization scale been constructed by some other method, it is likely that life styles of Rajputs would have shown even greater similarity with those of Brahmins. From this finding we conclude that high ritual status is at least as important in defining the gestalt of what it is to be Brahmin or Rajput as are differences in the life styles of these two high castes. In other words, the high level of ritual prestige which these two castes share is culturally more significant than the differences in their life styles.

The Westernization scores for castes also appear associated with ritual status but the fit is not nearly as good as for Sanskritization scores. Dhobis and Chamars show the lowest scores but Ahirs are as low in the complete sample. Brahmins obtain very high scores but are tied by Sonars and surpassed by Kayasthas. These findings agree with findings from our field observations of these castes. For examle, Kayasthas and Sonars were well-read and commonly wore Western style clothes in their professions of lawyer and teacher. Ahirs, by contrast, being poorly educated, did not read newspapers and did not gather about themselves the clothes and other artifacts of Western culture. A second point concerning the Westernization scores is the low variance among them compared with castes' variance on mean scores on the Sanskritization scale: s. d. = 13·0 and 28·1 points for rural sons on the Westernization and Sanskritization scales respectively. This finding indicates that castes of Ballia are more distinct from each other in terms of life style characteristics that have probably distinguished the castes from each other for countless generations than in terms of values, practices, and material artifacts of Western culture. As far as

the Srinivas hypothesis is concerned, our findings do not suggest that Brahmins have replaced indigenous symbols of high status with Western ones and if they are presently in the midst of doing so, they are not leading this movement but instead are following after several more fully Westernized middle castes.

Sanskritization Patterns of Brahmins, Rajputs, and Bhumihars

In this section we will compare means of the Sanskritic items for rural Brahmin, Bhumihar, and Rajput sons in order to see in detail what accounts for the finding, pointed out above, that Bhumihars register life style scale scores between those of Brahmins and Rajputs. That is, are Bhumihars highly Brahmin-like on some items and highly Rajput-like on others, or are they instead between the poles defined by Brahmin and Rajput means on these items? The findings presented in Table 3 show that the latter possibility more accurately

TABLE 3

Caste Means on Sanskritic Measures of Brahminism for Brahmins, Rajputs and Bhumihars (Rural Sons Only)

Item	*Caste* BRAHMIN (N=89)	BHUMIHAR (N=59)	RAJPUT (N=71)
1. % in traditional caste job	19	88	89
2. X vegetarianism score of wife (1, 5 with=1 strict vegetarian)	1.22	1.76	2.97
3. % owning worship room	81	63	49
4. X number of castes from which R can take only fried food (O, 11)	6.71	5.92	5.06
5. X education level in years	8.1	5.5	6.4
6. Frequency of wife's temple visits (1, 5 with 1=never and 5=5 or more times per week)	3.33	3.06	2.94

describes the relationships among life styles of Bhumihars and those of Brahmins and Rajputs. On four of the six items Bhumihars clearly fall between the means for Brahmins and

Rajputs. Each of these items concerns ritual practices, i. e. vegetarianism and frequency of wife's temple visits, presence of a worship room in the home, willingness to take food from other castes. On each of these items, Brahmins are most orthodox, Rajputs are least orthodox, and Bhumihars occupy midway positions. On the two remaining items, Bhumihars are more like Rajputs than Brahmins. Like Rajputs Bhumihars have lower education levels and are more concentrated in traditional occupations—agrarian ones for Bhumihars—than are Brahmins. These findings suggest that differences in the life styles of Brahmins, Rajputs, and Bhumihars described by Crooke 70 years ago continue to hold in the present day. Bhumihars continue to be more like Brahmins in ritual behavior but in terms of occupation and education level, they are more like Rajputs.

Ritual status and secular status (social class) are positively related for the Brahmins, Rajputs, and Bhumihars and for the other castes of the study as well. However, these relationships are conditioned by factors which we have not yet discussed. Thus, Brahmins while clearly ranking first in ritual status, have not been able to rely on their ritual status and higher education level to rise above Rajputs as the dominant caste of Ballia District. Instead, in terms of landholding and political power, it is the Rajputs who rank first in Ballia, a position which they have been able to gain in part because of their greater numbers. Bhumihars are less numerous than Brahmins and are also politically less powerful ; consequently, though the Bhumihars are clearly more Brahmin-like in terms of ritual practices, as far as ritual status is concerned, Rajputs are generally given the nod over Bhumihar. It may be that the ambiguous origin of Bhumihars has enabled Rajputs to rise above them. Or, it may be that the superior political and economic strength of Rajputs enables them to command greater respect among persons of other castes in the district,

Summary and Suggestion for Future Research

The research reported in this paper shows how scales for measuring life styles of castes can be developed. And for the

district studied, and possibly elsewhere, these scales, especially Sanskritization correlate well enough with ritual status to be treated as an index of ritual status. Comparisons of caste means on the scales of Brahmin and Rajput variants of Sanskritization and Westernization show that the themes of the former remain more important in describing differences in the life styles of castes of Ballia District. However, due to the inclusion of education as a measure of Sanskritization along with the obvious link between education and Westernization, one must be careful to avoid underestimating the role of Westernization as a process through which castes acquire and display status differences. Comparison of item means reveals that, compared with Rajputs, Bhumihars are more like Brahmins in performance of various religious customs but that occupationally and educationally Bhumihars are more like Rajputs.

Much additional research on this topic is needed before the questions we have attempted to answer can be fully answered. We would like to suggest three ways that such research might be undertaken. First, using the items presented in Table 1, the present research could be replicated in a different district or even a different state to test for the external validity of our Sanskritization scale as a measure of ritual status. Secondly, one could begin with the full set of items with which we did our research. Supplemented by other items, a new interview schedule could be administered elsewhere in India in order to begin to work toward the development of operationalized definitions of the regional variants of high caste life styles which scholars have alluded to. Thirdly, while we have developed scales from data for only two castes, it is possible to develop such scales from data for larger numbers of castes or other groups by using the techniques of multiple discriminant function analysis. This would be the most ambitious approach to replicating the present study and would probably also yield the most informative findings.

FOOTNOTES

1. M. N. Srinivas (1966 : 6).
2. Srinivas (1962 : 54).

3. This information was provided by Crooke (1896). Schwartzberg (1968), Hunter (1881), and Neville (1907).
4. Smith and Inkeles (1966).
5. Inkeles and Singh (1968).
6. Inkles (1969) ; Armer Schnaiberg (1972).
7. For further discussion of the step-wise procedure used, see Allen (1969).
8. In the present study, an item was included only if its uniquely explained variance was significat at the '05 level and remained significant at the '25 level after the subseqent inclusion of all other items satisfying the '05 level required for initial inclusion.
9. In excluding farming from the occupations we have considered traditional for Brahmins we do not overlook the long-standing Brahmin involvment in agriculture; rather, we simply do not regard agriculture as central to the identity of Brahmins in the way that it is for Rajputs.
10. See Marriott (1968 : 138). In a forthcoming paper, we plan to explore the relative merits and compatibility or incompatibility of our attributional method of ranking castes and the interactional method which Marriott advocates.

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PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY AS A SOCIAL SCIENCE IN INDIA

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Abstract : A plea is made in this paper to integrate the goals of archaeology with those of anthropology and other social sciences in order to widen the horizon of archæology and to make the general orientation more scientific. A brief review of archaeological researches is made to show how archaeology is aided by sophisticated mathematical models and the broad similarities in the use of concepts such as structuralism, multilinear evolution, etc., both in archaeology and other social sciences. It has been suggested that long term joint research programmes may be taken up by archaeologists and anthropologists.

THE title of this paper may sound a hackneyed slogan by now, since reasons for equating archæology—both historic and prehistoric—with anthropology have been given elsewhere by me, and by others in Europe and America. The plea here is to integrate the goals of archæology with anthropology and other social sciences. This is not in opposition to the concept of archæology as history, arts or humanities, as it is by and large considered in India. But traditional histriographical methodology, and the continuance of ideographic enquiries have so far mainly encouraged descriptive accounts, techniques and quantitative analysis. A social science orientation will allow archaeology to widen horizons, and thereby to better reconstruct the past than has been the case until now. Moreover, it will allow history and archæology to be 'scientific', in the sense of formulating and testing various generalizations, processes and explanations about man, society and his interaction with nature, rather than by the mere use of

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'scientific' techniques. Our objectives ought to be to develop such techniques and goals within explicit frameworks of enquiry which will yield explanations of general processes (Watson : 1971). These new directions, perspectives and parameters of research involve a two way process of interaction between generalizations—both before and after fieldwork—and particularistic details. This procedure is generally not being followed at the moment, because a majority of formulations, interpretations and generalizations are seldom explicitly stated. This is why some thinking, at least sometimes, about theory and concepts becomes essential for all research, and also needs to be included in teaching at the undergraduate and graduate levels. This orientation is also necessary in India for other human and social sciences. Our objectives, therefore, are part and parcel of the wider aims of scientific knowledge. To illustrate, in the case of prehistoric archæology a multidisciplinary approach is even more imperative because it cannot rely solely on durable remains for reconstructing past societies. It requires not only ethnograhic and socio-anthropological as well as historical data, but also the borrowing of certain general concepts and hypotheses from other disciplines. This wider approach implies both borrowings and integration with anthropology and other social sciences and also thereby itself contributing to those disciplines. For example, while using evolutionary concepts to investigate prehistoric sites, such research in turn may help us to test various hypotheses with regard to evolution in the wider context of theoretical knowledge. In this way some insights from prehistory may provide us with practical and testable explanations about 'non-archæological' areas, or even of contemporary problems (Malik : 1972). Today, the need is to provide improved and refined standards of theoretical rigour so that careful explanatory evaluations of archæological evidence in terms of human and cultural behaviour becomes possible.

We may now turn to a brief review of some aspects of archæological research which is based on broad theoretical frameworks.

Structuralism and Archæology

Structuralism as a concept has been an important landmark in the development of modern anthropology, first emerging in the study of linguistics. Briefly, its basic premise is that just as structural units and rules govern the many forms of a language, similarly these also govern the behavioural forms of material objects. Both cases are symbolic of socio-cultural structures that represent men-material interactions within a given community, i.e., words and artifacts are different expressions of the same system because both are productions of human motor activity which results in the one case words because of the interacting nerves impulses with the 'material' air, and in the other the action of muscles mental control under (which in turn is governed by corresponding social and cultural patterning) results in artifacts that are learnt in the larger framework by technological skills (Deetz : 1967). Thus, in structural terms when assemblages are put together into various types according to their relationships to each other because of certain similarities, then, what we are trying to do is to build a pattern of structural behavioural of standardized artifacts, i.e. each such groups represents wider behavioural patterns of human ideas and actions. It is conceivable that it is the archæologist who places artifacts according to what he thinks may represent similar group-patterns of a society. This is one of the problems to be faced. Nevertheless, not withstanding difficulties, structuralism has helped archæologists to reflect upon various rules that govern different combinations of traits and trait complexes, and to understand structural rules of cultural artifacts. In a nutshell, the basic argument of structuralism as applied in archæology is this : if there were no structural rules of society, there could be no consistence patterning and it would not be possible to integrate assemblages. It is this basic assumption that allows a comparison of artifacts and their attributes, i.e., it is not by mere physical comparisons but by understanding the underlying socio-cultural patterning of structures.

Beyond this, the approach of structuralism for many other problems helps in archæological interpretations, say in the areas of migration, trade, diffusion of ideas and traits, and so on. For instance, ordered rules allow us to see diffusion (both as primary and secondary) in a differential manner, because the rates of diffusion of different artifacts are patterned in variety of ways, due to attribute sharing ; or, if people migrate, then social relationships within a group may or may not change, depending upon whether innovation or invention of 'new' artifacts is compatible in the new ecological setting, according to other local needs and demands. It is a combination of local and outside cultural patterns which is often clearly reflected in the emergence of 'newer' artifacts. Of course, at times, 'newer' artifacts are exchanged by themselves, without major sociocultural changes, i.e., they are often reproduced superficially in a technical sense, such as the 'neolithic' celts of eastern India that are copies of metal types and therefore do not represent a 'metal-oriented' society ; rather it suggests a continuation of the older socio-economic patterns. It is in this way that the complexities of archæological evidence in the culture-setting may be understood, rather than by means of detailed descriptive accounts.

Systems Theory, Computers and Archæology

Today, part of the advancement in archæology, far away from the direct application of personal experience and intelligence, is the use of mathematical and other scientific techniques for interpretive purposes (Doran : 1970). While some standardization in this direction has been established in the West, such as in the techniques of seriation, factor analyses, etc. (anthropology and sociology are also following it), this has not been the case in India. These developments are not mere refinements of quantitative analyses. These procedures help us to gain further information about intangible aspects with greater probability, provided our orientations are social-scientific. This is why the application of systems theory, or that of cybernetics (sytems of communication and control, information theory, games theory, etc. which are all highly mathe-

matical in content) has allowed the use of complex mathematical methods and computers. General systems theory has been significantly explicated by David Clarke, Patty Jo Watson, Binford, and others. An attempt to apply general systems theory for understanding problems of Indian history and civilization has also been made (Malik : 1974).

Systems theory was first used and applied by Bertalanffy (1950, 1968). Briefly, it is the concept of wholeness whereby total stuctures are comprehended. A system is any large assemblage of intercommunicating elements which may resonably be regarded as a unit in itself. Systems range from organic to inorganic and even machine-like entities, making it possible to evolve formulations that lead to laws and generalizations. These are then equally applicable to diverse systems of a wide range, so that comparative generalizations become possible. This is why the advantage of the general systems theory is that it holds good for several disciplines. It is because of these conceptual developments that the use of computers has been useful, but in terms of merely seeking in the system a mechanical mathematical model. "Indeed, one of great advantages of using a computer programme to simulate evolving systems is that a much wider range of possibilities can be accommodated than can be expressed mathematically. Computer offers—at the same level of abstracting precise specifications of all the relevant factors—is that of their interactions. These specifications need not embody any general laws, nor need they be mathematical in form, but each must be operationally complete so that together they enable the machine to generate a possible history of the area concerned". (Doran : 1970 ; pp. 296-7).

One of the uses of the computer is for cluster analyses which has developed in different disciplines, including anthropology and sociology, because it allows one to perform the task of compression of classifications, to build basic foundations of types and indices of traits that indicate significant patterns of human behaviour. Thus, since typological refinemnt is a crucial stage in the organization of archaeological material, various critical and precise numerical procedures need to be

developed wherever large amounts of material available. For instance, there are many ways and techniques of cluster analyses that have been discussed in many papers dealing with archaeology. Smith (1973) introduces us to "Cluster analysis and classification strategies" in order to validate particular problems. He uses computer-programming for cluster analysis of a group of mutually similar objects on the basis of the set of attributes selected and observed for each object in the region of Israel. "Obviously, the strength of any analysis is directly related to the care with which the attributes are selected and observed as well as to the nature of the data used...the value of cluster analysis (indeed of any statistical procedure) is apparent in that the processes, rational and under-lying assumptions resultant from the structure of the particular technique must be made explicit. Moreover, they must be kept foremost in the mind of the investigator as he structures his research, selects his attributes, and interprets his results". Similiarly, searching for structures within multivariate archaeological data, Hodson (1970 a, b) focuses our attention to the multivariate analysis of artifacts which, in his opinion, cannot be worked out by two-dimensional plotting but by high speed computers that have furthered the goals of objectivity and clarity of tables, histograms, graphs, and so on, which we commonly use now in any case. In the same issue, David Kendal discusses "Some problems of and methods of statistical archaeology", (1070) ; J. M. Grahm with a note by Derek Roe (1970), applies statistical multivariate analysis to "Palaeolithic hand axe groups", using cannonical variates. And so on.

Multineal Evolution and Prehistory

In a paper on "The diet of early man", Issac (1970), takes up the data of archaeology from the early Pleistocene hunter and gatherer groups. This discussion is related to various concepts of evolution because it helps to make a wide range of interpretations, and even explorations with regard to subsistence economies, settlement patterns and demography, specially from Africa where palaeolithic diet in selected items of archaeological evidence has been evaluated in terms of

specific socio-economic conclusions within the framework of hominid diet in human evolution. Early evolutionary ideas considered Man to have descended from an stock that was much less extensively carnivorous. It was thought that, with time, a shift took place to one of increasing animal-hunting-game. Some authors of human evolution, as Campbell and Pfeiffer (1966 & 1969), suggest that the trend towards big-game hunting by middle Pleistocene started after a small-game hunting phase during the early Pleistocene ; later on, it led to an acceleration of Man's mental, linguistic and social evolution. Today, it is known that circa two million years ago at least some hominids already had a significant meat component in their diet. Such investigations reveal that broad-based subsistence patterns were in existence during the early development of man, and our notions of any exclusive evolutionary order of gathering, collecting and hunting phases, as thought earlier is incorrect. Moreover, it seems clear that sex division of male hunters and female gatherers was more likely, whereby adaptive system of human societies—and lithic industries would reflect this—helped in survival. Therefore, investigations in India must bear these ideas in mind in order to locate archaeological material and their interpretation.

Ethnography and Prehistoric Archaeology

Nearly 99% of Man's existence has been lived at the hunter and gatherer stage, while the other forms of subsistence and living patterns form only about 1%—having developed during the last 10,000 years. This is why ethnographic and anthrological analyses of date, including the remaining records of until recently existing—and existing—hunting and gathering societies is necessary. These studies tell us, for example, that this large category is not a uniform one but includes a great variety, and this level of social organization has been called the 'band' level of non-agricultural societies (Service 1964 : 1966, 1971). Again, there are different levels of subsistence—within the 'band' level—that may also be studied in the evolutionary sense because such subsistence economies differ a great deal, in terms of the predominance of hunting for meat,

for vegetable food, fishing, gathering seeds and collecting other plants, nuts, berries and roots. In this context, papers with meaningful insights have been presented in the wellknown seminar, *Man the Hunter* (Richard B. Lee and Irveen Devore : 1968). In this book Levi-Strauss tells us that the problem of understanding hunters and gatherers is urgent not merely because they are vanishing or have already disappeared, but because their understanding is crucial in the development of theoretical concepts about culture-history and the evolution of Man. To illustrate, it is at once clear that the earliest hunters and gatherers were not close, in any way, to the animal-primate-groups. Moreover, even the ethnographic examples of such 'band' level groups do not suggest, to any extent, closeness to those found during prehistoric times. Therefore, the difference between animal and human societies is a vast one, for even hunting and gathering societies are very complex in their organization. Nevertheless, it is possible to gain insights from present day societies, even though their habits now may be due to a certain regression because of changing their habitats (pressure of later society), that are not ideal conditions for their optimum development.

In sum, we learn from recent research that prehistoric studies need not be restricted merely by the durable remants of material culture ; available information is increased by ever widening view points. This, inspite of the fact that we continue to say that non-material aspects cannot be dug up. (We are familiar of the work on the Mousterian of Europe [See Binford 1962, 1965, 1969, 1968, 1972) Boards (1953, 1956) etc.] or in Africa [Clark-Howell (1961, 1966, 1969) & J. D. Clarke (1958, 1966), etc.] It is with these widening horizons that we may then consider what relevant archaeological data is, since it is not merely what is observable but also how it is related to the investigator's particular problem. In other words, all these facts—of sampling processes—of collecting data as well as analysing and interpretation, implies that there is the need for a continuous dialogue between planning and digging, not only before but during field work when there is change of model. It is these various orientations which will

be useful for various types of classifications and typologies. But even statistical techiques and mathematical methods are governed by frameworks of enquiry. This is why archaeological remains represent a continuity of socio-culturl ideas of any human group, i.e., since what we observe directly represents a structure of ideas and evaluations of social norms, of past behavioural patterns. It is for this reason that we may use the 'systemic' approach to culture—utilizing the general system theory to classify material [See David Clarke, (1968, 1972), and others]. This widening horizon implies that prehistoric archaeology will yield better results by integrating with social sciences, rather than merely as an appendage to ancient history, art, and architecture. Moreover, in this way, archaeologists may join anthropologists, to research specific areas, atleast for purposes of designs and problems, enabling them to work in greater detail rather than deal separately with generalized descriptions from sites of an entire region. Here, again, we may remind ourselves that each age and generation tries to interpret and relate available knowledge in terms of its own understanding. This is why different models have to be adopted to understand reality. But models are not merely fictional structures, they have their own objective reality which changes as one tries to examine the material. Consequently, what was proved long ago or what was the truth long ago does not hold true any more, not because it was false before but because newer perspectives have become possible. Hence the relations between the observers and the observed is constantly changing. All this means that future work in prehistoric archaeology in India has to lay stress on long term interdisciplinary studies, by planning out specifically selected regions to be worked by a team rather than by individuals. But a team, not in sense of getting together various specialists as technicians—the chemist, biologist, geologist and others, but in terms of the anthropologist, and other social scientist, or others who are equally interested in understanding human development, evolution and other various aspects of human societies, getting together to view the past by archaeological and anthropological means. All this

also means long term planning for publication at various levels, i.e., publications of various kinds—which range from not only comprehensive reports but also those which are of a general nature that summarise interpretations with hypotheses and so on which give directions for future research. It is towards this that we must plan out the next 10 to 16 years of research in India. A select reading with references is given below for further reading.

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GENETIC SURVEY OF THE GADABA OF ORISSA

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Abstract: An attempt has been made in the present paper to study few genetical traits, e.g., PTC taste threshold, ABO blood group, Rh blood group, Handclasping, Armfolding, Tongue rolling, Palmaris Longus muscle, Hypertrichosis of ear, among the Gadaba of Orissa. The study was conducted among 300 male and 300 females from different parts of Koraput district. It was observed that, the Gadaba possess high frequency of 'B' blood group: Rh negative frequency is not very high and the frequency of nontasters is 51.40 p.c. They present higher number of 'R' type of Handclasping and 'L' type of Armfolding; majority of the people possess free earlobe; hypertrichosis of ear appears in 11.67 p.c. and 77.36 p.c. of persons show palmaris longus muscle.

Introduction

THE Gadaba is one of the most well-known tribes of Orissa. They are also numerically important. Their main concentration is in Koraput district. They occupy mainly the south-western part of the district and extend into the hilly region of adjoining two states, i.e., Andhra and Madhya Pradesh. But their population in these two states are not very high. In Orissa the Gadaba mainly inhabit Lamptaput, Jeypore, Nandpur, Semliguda, Sunabeda and Pattangi areas

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of Koraput district and their total population will be approximately 50,000. Earlier authors had mentioned, that the Gadaba were divided into 3 endogamous groups, namely the Bodo Gadaba, the Sano Gadaba and the Ollari Gadaba. At present, though the threefold divisions are present, they are not strictly endogamous and free intermarriages are taking place among these three sections. Recently different industrial projects are coming up in this area and the Gadaba are coming in contact with the outsiders. This has resulted in marriages between the Gadaba and non-Gadaba. In this process the genetic structure of the population will change in few generations.

Informations on several morphological and genetical traits were collected mainly by the second author during 1971 to 1973 from different parts of Koraput district. Samples were selected from villages near Machkund, Lamptaput, Nandpur, Sunabeda, Jeypore, Bade Gumma and Pattangi. Following characters were studied :—

Phenylthiocarbamide taste threshold, ABO and Rh blood groups, Handclasping, Armfolding, Colourblindness, Tongue Rolling, Occipital Hair Whorls, Darwin's Tubercle, Earlobe Attachment, Hairy Pinnae and presence of Palmaris Longus Muscle. For studying Darwin's tubercle, Occipital Hair Whorls and Hairy Pinnae, samples were selected only from the male. All other characters were studied among both male and female.

RESULTS

PTC Taste Threshold

PTC taste threshold was studied by sorting technique described by Harris and Kalmus among 350 male and 220 female. The threshold distribution is presented in Table No. 1.

TABLE 1

Distribution of PTC Taste Threshold among the Gadaba

Group	n	Threshold 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Male	74	40	22	24	20	20	29	41	33	19	15	11	0	0
Female	44	20	20	17	10	15	13	14	26	19	11	9	0	0
Total	118	60	42	41	30	35	42	55	59	38	26	20	3	0

It is observed that the antimode, both among the male and female, lies between solution nos. 4 and 5. Therefore the individuals whose threshold lie below the solution no 5 are classified as nontasters and those with threshold in solution no 5 and above are classified as tasters. Frequency of tasters are slightly higher among the female than that of male but the difference is not significant. Mean taste threshold of the tasters among the female is also higher.

TABLE 2

Frequency of Tasters and Nonteasters among the Gadaba

Group	No	Tasters		Nontasters		T gene	t gene	Mean Threshold
		n	%	n	%			
Male	350	168	48.00	182	52.00	0 279	0.721	8.04+0.12
Female	220	109	49.55	111	50.45	0.290	0.710	8.34+0.15
Total	570	277	48.60	293	51.40	0.283	0.717	—

ABO and Rh Blood Groups

ABO blood typing was conducted among 350 male and 230 female. Their blood group distribution is presented in table 3. The allele frequencies of p, q and r are presented in table 4. Both among the male and female B blood group individuals occur in highest frequency, which is followed by A and O. AB individuals occur in lowest frequency. The r gene is present in highest frequency (0.50) and p and q are present almost in equal frequencies. Bisexual variation observed in the distribution of ABO blood group frequencies and their alleles are not significant.

TABLE 3

Distribution of ABO Blood Group

Group	N	O		A		B		AB	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	350	90	25.92	97	27.71	130	37.14	33	9.43
Female	230	56	24.34	56	24.34	92	40.00	26	11.31
Total	580	146	25.17	153	26.37	222	38.27	59	10.17

TABLE 4

Frequencies of r, p and q among the Gadaba

Group	r	p	q	p+q+r	D	D/6
Male	0.507	0.223	0.283	1.0013	—.013	—
Female	0.493	0.204	0.304	1.0004	—.0005	—
Total	0.501	0.217	0.298	1.016	—.016	0.035

Rh blood typing could be conducted only among 282 male and 158 female. Only anti D sera was available and individuals were only classified as Rh + ve and Rh − ve. The result is presented in the table 5.

TABLE 5

Distribution of Rh Blood Groups

Group	N	Rh + ve		Rh − ve		D gene	d gene
		n	%	n	%		
Male	232	211	92.29	11	7.76	0.7215	0.2785
Female	158	145	91.77	12	8.33	0.7113	0.2887
Total	390	359	92.05	31	7.95	0.7181	0.2819

The frequency of Rh-ve individuals is slightly higher in female (8.33%) than the male (7.76%). Frequency of d gene in combined male and female population is 0.2819, which is lower than the frequency observed among the caucasoid people and nearer to the frequency observed among the negroid population.

Handclasping and Armfolding

Handclasping and armfolding were observed among 346 male and 225 female. Both male and female possess higher number of R type of handclasping and L type of armfolding (table 6). The female exhibit higher frequency of R type of handclasping and L type of armfolding than the male. Both in handclasping and armfolding bisexual variation is not significant.

TABLE 6

Distribution of different types of Handclasping and Armfolding

Group	N	Handclasping				Armfolding			
		L		R		L		R	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	345	154	44.63	191	55.37	177	51.30	168	48.69
Female	225	100	44.44	124	55.55	127	56.44	98	43.56
Total	570	254	44.56	316	55.43	304	53.03	266	46.66

Earlobe Attachment, Darwin's Tubercle and Hairy Pinnae

As the females use heavy ear ornaments, it was not possible to study the earlobe attachment among them. For the same reason Darwin's tubercle also could not be studied among the female. Presence of hair in the pinnae of the ear is a Y-chromosome linked trait. Therefore, all the three above mentioned traits are studied only among 300 males, and the result of the observations are presented in tables 7, 8 and 9.

TABLE 7

Hypertrichosis among the Gadaba

Area affected	Both Ears Affected	One Ear Affected	Total
Helix	12 (4.00%)	1 (0.33%)	13 (4.33%)
Trogus	7 (2.33%)	2 (0.67%)	9 (3.00%)
Lower Pinnae	11 (3.67%)	2 (0 67%)	13 (4.33%)
Total	30 (10.00%)	5 (1.67%)	35 (11.67%)

Hairy pinnae is observed in 11.67 p.c. of the male, of which 10.00 p.c. exhibit the trait on both the ears and 1.67 p.c. exhibit only on one ear. It is observed that hair growth is found more oftener in helix and lower pinnae compared to the tragus.

TABLE 8

Earlobe attachment among the Gadaba Males

Type of Attachment	No	%
Free	110	36.66
Intermediate or Partially attached	76	25.00
Attached	116	38.33

Three types of earlobe attachments were noted ; free, intermediate and attached. Attached earlobe is observed in highest frequency (38.33%0) : which is slightly higher than the frequency of free (36.66%) type of earlobe.

TABLE 9

Frequency of Darwin's Tubercle

	No	%
Absent	279	93.00
Trace	25	5.00
Marked	6	2.00

Two types of Darwin's tubercle are noted : (1) where the tubercle is not well developed, it is classified as 'trace' and (2) where the tubercle is well developed, it is classified as 'marked'. Individuals exhibiting Darwin's tubercle on one or both the ears are shown as possessing the tubercle. No attempt was made to differentiate the homo-and hetero-types of individuals. 7.00 p.c. of individuals exhibit the trait in one or both the ears and only 2.00 p.c. show well developed Darwin's tubercle.

Occipital Hair Whorls

Occipital whorls were studied only among the males as very few woman agreed to let their hair be disturbed. It was not possible to study the hair whorls without disturbing the hair style. Hair whorls of 225 males were studied and they were identified as clockwise (+) and anticlockwise (−). Persons with single and double hair whorls are also noted (table 10). Persons with double hair whorls appear in 12.89 p.c. and the rest possess single hair whorl. Among the persons with single hair whorl the majority possess clockwise whorls (71.11%).

TABLE 10

Distribution of Occipital Hair Whorls

	Single			Double			
	+	–	Total	—	+	–	Total
No	160	36	196	11	3	15	29
%	71.11	16.00	87.11	4.89	1.33	6.67	12.89

Palmaris Longus Muscle and Tongue Rolling

Presence or absence of Palmaris Longus muscle was noted among 292 male and 289 female Gadaba., Presence of the muscle is due to a recessive allele (l) and absence is due to a dominant allele (L). Allele frequencies for the respective types are also calculated. It is observed that the male possess the muscle in slightly higher frequency than the female. Frequency of l gene is slightly higher among the female (table 11), but the difference is not significant.

TABLE 11

Distribution of Palmaris Longus Muscle among the Gadaba

Group	N	Presence		Absence		l gene	L gene
		n	%	n	%		
Male	292	327	77.74	65	22.26	0.881	0.119
Female	269	207	76.95	82	23.04	0.877	0.126
Total	551	434	77.36	127	53.63	0.879	0.121

The capability to roll both the sides of the tongue longitudinally was studied among 355 male and 324 female. Those who were able to roll the tongue were classified as +ve and those who could not roll were classified as –ve. 76.33 p.c. of the males and 72.73 p.c of the females were able to roll their tongue (table 12). Though the +ve type of individuals are slightly higher among the male, the difference is not significant.

TABLE 12

Types of Tongue Rolling among the Gadaba

Group	N	+ve		–ve		R gene	r gene
		n	%	n	%		
Male	355	271	76.33	84	23.68	0.514	0.486
Female	324	236	72.83	88	27.17	0.479	0.521
Total	679	507	74.66	172	25.34	0.497	0.503

Colourblindness

Colourblindness was studied with the help of the Ishihara colourblindness plates developed for the illiterate population. 280 male and 218 female were studied. Only one case of red-green blindness among male was observed, i.e., 0.35 p.c occurrence of colourblindness. No female colourblind persons were observed.

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A NOTE ON FINGER DERMATOGLYPHICS OF THE LODHA OF MIDNAPUR WEST BENGAL

By

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AND

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(Received on January 31, 1974)

Abstract : The data on dermatoglyphics were collected from the Lodha of Midnapur in 1969. On the basis of Whorl : Loop ratio the Lodha have been considered as 'Mundari group of people.' Bhowmick (1956) points out from anthropometric study that the Lodha show close resemblance with the Veddah.

THE Lodha are an ex-criminal tribe in the district of Midnapur, West Bengal. They speak a dialect composed of distorted Bengali, Oriya and words of Mundari origin. Prof. N. K. Bose, in the forwarding note of Bhowmick's book on the Lodha (1963) mentioned, "Even now one occasionally comes across a song sung by old men in broken Mundari language."

No study, except one by Bhowmick (1956) and other by Ghosh et al (1973) has so far been carried out to assess physical affinity of the Lodha. The purpose of the present paper is to describe the finger dermatoglyphic characteristics of the Lodha.

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Materials and Methods

During January-February, 1969, the data on finger patterns were collected from 110 individuals (62 males and 48 females). The data were analysed according to the methods proposed by Cummins and Midlo (1961).

Results and Discussion

In Table I the distribution of the papillary patterns of the two sexes is given. It is seen that the frequency of whorl in males (40.16%) is more than that in females (36.67%), whereas loops are more frequent in females (61.88%) than in males (57.10%). The frequency of arches in females (1.46%) is almost half of that in males (2.74%). Both males and femals possess more or less the same frequency of radial loops (male—0.81% and female—0.83%). It may be noted that both radial loops and arches are more frequent on the II digit than on other digits. In respect of papillary patterns there is no significant difference between the two sexes ($Chi^2 = 3.9467$, d.f. = 2, $P > .10$).

The pattern intensity index, whorl-loop index and arch-whorl index in males are 13.75, 70.36 and 6.82 respectively, whereas these indices in females are 13·52, 59.27 and 3·98 respectively. It shows that all the indices are greater in males than in females. It may be due to higher frequency of whorls in males.

Sarkar (1954) is of opinion that among the Australoid populations the ratio of Whorl : Loop is 60 : 40, whereas this ratio is just reverse among the Mundari group of people. It may be pointed out from the above discussion that the ratio of Whorl : Loop is nearly 40 : 60 among the Lodha. This suggests that the Lodha are of Mundari origin. Bhowmick (1956), on the basis of anthropometric characters says that the Lodha show close resemblance with the Veddah, though the probability of inter-mixture with Mundari peoples is quite high. As it is very difficult to assess ethnic affinity of any

population on the basis of one genetic character, we shall as far as possible try to make correct assessment of ethnic affinity of the Lodha with the help of various other genetic characters in our subsequent papers.

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TABLE 1

Distribution of Papillary Patterns in Individual Digits

Digits		MALE Whorl No.	%	Loop (U) No.	%	Loop (R) No.	%	Arch No.	%	FEMALE Whorl No.	%	Loop (U) No.	%	Loop (R) No.	%	Arch No.	%
I	R	30	4.84	31	5.00	0	0.00	1	0.16	19	3.96	28	5.83	0	0.00	1	0.21
	L	26	4.19	33	5.32	0	0.00	3	0.48	23	4.79	25	5.21	0	0.00	0	0.00
II	R	24	3.87	34	5.48	2	0.32	2	0.32	17	3.54	27	5.63	1	0.21	3	0.63
	L	34	5.48	20	3.23	2	0.32	6	0.97	18	3.75	25	5.21	3	0.63	2	0.42
III	R	8	1.29	54	8.71	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.63	45	[illegible]	0	0.00	0	0.00
	L	15	2.42	45	7.26	0	0.00	2	0.32	16	3.33	31	6.46	0	0.00	1	0.21
IV	R	38	6.13	23	3.71	0	0.00	1	0.16	23	4.79	25	5.21	0	0.00	0	0.00
	L	43	6.94	19	3.06	0	0.00	0	0.00	27	5.63	21	4.38	0	0.00	0	0.00
V	R	15	2.42	45	7.26	0	0.00	2	0.32	9	1.88	39	8.13	0	0.00	0	0.00
	L	16	2.58	45	7.26	1	0.16	0	0.00	21	4.38	27	5.63	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	R	115	18.55	187	30.16	2	0.32	6	0.97	71	14.79	164	34.17	1	0.21	4	0.83
	L	134	21.61	162	26.13	3	0.48	11	1.67	105	21.88	129	26.88	3	0.63	3	0.63

MALE		FEMALE	
Whorl	40.16%	Whorl	36.67%
Loop (U)	56.29%	Loop (U)	61.05%
Loop (R)	0.81%	Loop (R)	0.83%
Arch	2.74%	Arch	1.46%

THE CHOTE (PURUM) OF MANIPUR SOME SOCIO-CULTURAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS

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Arabinda Basu, Bikash Raychaudhuri.

(*Received on 6 September 1975*)

Abstract. The Chote who have been reported by earlier authors as Purums and are still called in that name by the Meitei, in fact call themselves as Chote, though their villages have the prefix 'Purum'. They inhabit nine villages, near the fertile Manipur Valley. Chote tract is flanked by Khongkhang on the Tengnoupal range in the south-east and by Lumlanghupi at the base of the Tamenlong range in the north-west, the main concentration being in the seven centrally located villages. Their population is now approximately 1500 comprising about 300 families.

The present work which enabled us to look into the Chote with Professor T. C. Das' work of 1936, as the base-line bench, delineates that all but 25 families of Lumlanghupi have become Christians, that they have reasonable advancement in education having access to wet cultivation, and that they have struck to Jhum only to produce certain cash crops. They have been aware of establishing a pan-tribal association in their effort to find a place in the total socio-political milieu. Inspite of their conversion, the crux of their social organisation is pivoted on three descent groups—one's own, wife receivers', wife donors'—and the earlier marriage rules have, very much, been maintained. When the marriage is with a non-Chote, a marriageable clan is conferred before accepting the girl.

The paper was read before the Annual Conference of the Indian Anthropological Society, 1975. The research project on the Purums has been sponsored by the Anthropological Survey of India, Government of India.

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Investigation of mating behaviour, shows that the Chote perhaps comprised of three breeding populations : (1) Chotes of the central cluster, (2) Chotes of Khongkhang and (3) Chotes of Lumlanghupi.

AS students of Anthropology, the interesting rules of marriage alliance as prescribed among the Purums, attracted our attention through Professor T.C. Das' monograph "The Purums : An old Kuki tribe of Manipur." He always insisted on detailed and meticulous scrutiny of the social norms and practices and his reliable exposition of Purum data opened a new window in the understanding of society in general. Anyway, some obvious limitations stood in the way of Das' revisit of the Purum field and this, if done, would have surely enriched our existing knowledge. In the course of time, Das' data have been a subject matter of world wide discussion. However, Dr. Surajit Chandra Sinha, the Director of the Anthropological Survey of India, and also an ardent student of Professor Das, liked very much that Purum tribe should be visited by a team of physical and social anthropologists, and under his sincere desire and timely nurture, this work could be done during March-May, 1975.

Any question relating to human group, large or small, has two dimensions,—biological and cultural. Answers should never be unilateral and in order to reach the reality it is necessary that we should have bilateral approach. Microscopic study on a small community, covering ethnographic as well as biologic aspects, is lacking in India. About 40 years ago, Professor T. C. Das of the University of Calcutta, contributed an authentic ethnographic account of the little known isolated Purum community, inhabiting the south-eastern part of Manipur. They were said to be spread over four villages and the 1931 census puts their figure as 303 souls, the 1961 figure as 82 souls, while 1971 puts them as nil. Das' noteworthy work on the Purum not only detailed the social structure and cultural contour of this isolated tribe but it also meticulously scanned Purum social structure to make it a model ethographic work. Das' academic precision evoked a lot of appreciation from

many corners of the world and Needham (1962), Ackerman (1964), White (1973) and others utilized fully Das' empirical data on Purum social structure.

Besides the involvement of the Purums in the regional economy, the reorganization, if any, in the internal organization, the articulation with the neighbouring hill tribes and the valley people remained as important subject matters of investigation during our field research. The mass of data collected by us is yet to be analysed. The present paper is based mainly on the first hand impression of the field. At a later phase, when the data are fully analysed, many interesting information about the Purum, from bio-social perspective, will come out.

We started for the field with the initial working hypothesis that in order to cope up with the decrease in population, they must have evolved some social mechanism. We were also alert of the genetical aspect of the problem. Later, however, as we found out that the population decrease was not 'real', we had to modify our field hypothesis.

The Purum are, in fact, known as Chote. They themselves refer their own group as Chote and tell that when they refer to their land they call it Purum. Thus almost every village name has a prefix Purum, and the hills around the villages are known as Purum Ching. The Meitei, the dominant group of the valley, know them as Purum and sometimes as Purum Chote. In the Manipur valley, the practice of labelling the group by the name of the village is much in vogue. Thus Andro means the village of Andro and the 'people of Andro' though the villagers are actually known as Loi-Chakpa. The small tribes e. g. Mon, Aimol, Anal, Marring, Taraon, etc, living in the vicinity also know them as Chote.

The present total population of the Chote (Purum) is about 1500. They are distributed in nine villages (Fig.1). The

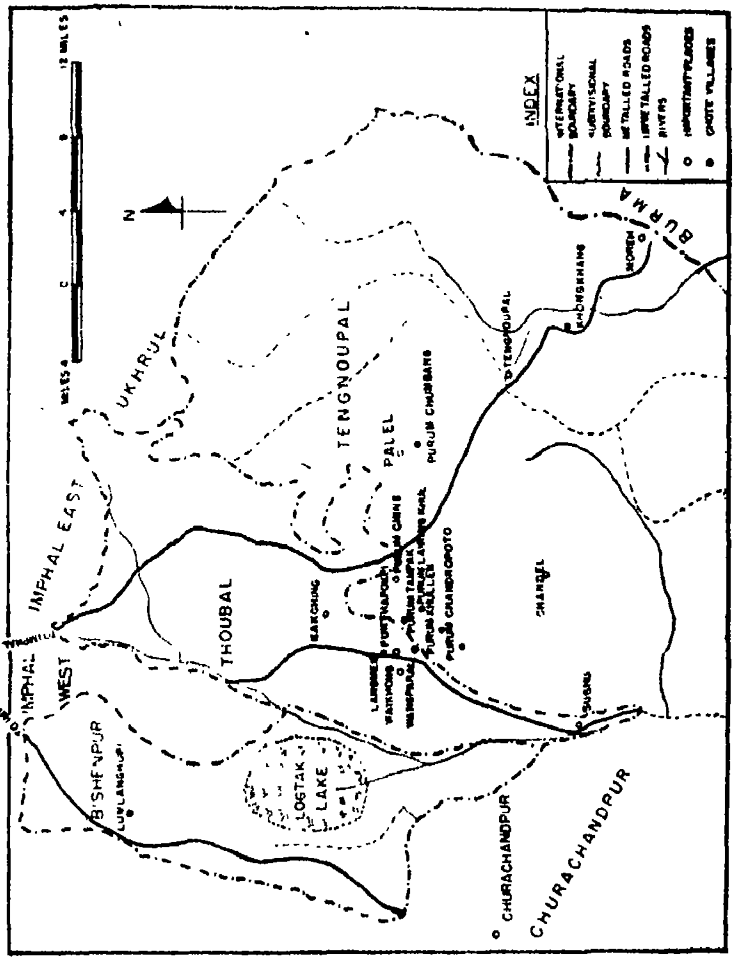


Fig. 1 Distribution of Chote (Purum) Villages of Manipur

central cluster of these villages might be said to be comprising Purum Tampak, Purum Lairingkhul, Purum Chandropoto, Punthapokpi, Purum Chumbang, Purum Wangparal and Purum Khullen. The village of Khongkhang (on the Indo-Burma highway) located about 29 km. short of the Burma border may be said to be its south eastern most extremity and the village of Lumlanghupi near Bishenpur may be said to be its north western most extremity. The Chote tract lies skirting the valley and is flanked by two hill ranges and several small hills crisscross the Chote tract. Of these villages," Purum Tampak with 236 souls happen to be the largest and the new village of Punthapokpi, the smallest one. In the village of Khongkhang we find the maximum concentration of eight non-Chote families. Their villages are surrounded by the settlements of Mon, Kom, Meitei, etc., with whom they are in socio-economic articulation. The Meitei landowners have land in Chote villages and have Chote sharecroppers. The Loi from Thongjow supply them the earthenwares they need and come to collect wild edible roots from the Chote; Meitei business men collect millet, banana and paddy at wholesale rate from the Chote villages; the cloths, etc., are purchased from the market. With the Mon, Kom, etc., there are a number of cases of marital alliances. The maximum number of cases is with the Mon. It is worthwhile to note that marital relationship with the Meitei, the largest group of the valley, is, of course scarce.

Though the Purum population has been systematically shown in the census as in a state of decay, yet in reality it is not so. Because, if we take the Purum and Chote census figures together, it can be ascertained that the population has shown a normal growth. We have covered all the villages of Chote through census and genealogy, could decipher the interesting marriage rules and gauge the range of changes that have taken place. Though Prof. Das was not categoric in calling them as Chote, yet he also referred about the Chote near Bishenpur. We have been able to locate them as living at Lumlanghupi (near Bishenpur). Since the Chote population

did not actually show signs of decay, the earlier research design had to be modified. In this paper, however, an attempt has been made to bring into relief some broad observations on the Chote utilising Das' data as the baseline bench.

Slight modification in the structure of sibs following one subsib becoming full sib and following the fission and fusion of a few subsibs : Prof. Das listed five sibs which were classified into bride receiving and bride giving groups. Sibs are again subdivided into a number of subsibs. But now the number of sibs and subsibs has been increased. Marriage may take place within or outside the village, though intra village marriages are more. Whenever a Chote will marry a non-Chote, a marriageable sib will be given to the boy or the girl as the case may be and the marriage is regularised. Such cases often are met with in every village; and the *hloukal* (village council) with the *ulinteks* (elders) of the sibs decide the question of regularising the marriage by accepting a pig of the measurement of five *wah*[1] and a quantum of tea. Tea has now replaced *su* (liquor). A more complicated problem has now started cropping up. They are to make a compromise between the marriageable sib and the Christian denominations. Whenever, they cannot reach to a easy solution, the boy runs away (*atlan*) with the girl and then regularises the whole thing by giving a pig to the village council and the sib elders.

Conversion to Christianity : During the visit of Prof. Das in the thirties, there was not a single Christan. Now, they are all Christians excepting the twentyfour families of Lumlang-hupi. Christianity first entered the area in 1942/3. With this they have shown an eagerness to get higher education. There are altogether eight graduates and many matriculates. Every village has more than one school—one organised by the government and the other by the Church. In spite of their attachment to the new faith, the system of the existence of a bride receiving and a bride giving class is perpetuating. The

1. One *wah* is approximately four inches.

earlier marriage rules are to a large extent being maintained. Due to Christianity the earlier god and goddesses have become defunct; *lungchungfa*, the erstwhile supreme god have become obsolete and Christ has occupied the supreme place. Of late, the older type of house ING-LOK is gradually being replaced by a modern type of house. Though some structural changes have been brought in the new type of houses, the concept of house owner's and outsider's apartment is still being retained. The house owner's apartment is sacred and outsiders are not allowed to sit inside or even in front of it. In the village of Khongkhang this rule is slackened but in most of the other villages this is continuing.

Advancement in education : With the spread of school and college education there has been involvement in office job and wider political network. They feel it an honour to be a B.A. and the young people have been able to get a place in the regional socio-political life. They have an ardent desire that they should get educated and now talk in terms of becoming IAS or a member of District Council or MLA-ship. The villagers are aware of the changes that are going on in the political life of Manipur.

Adoption of wet rice cultivation and great dependence on cash crop : They have adopted wet rice cultivation and have abandoned *jhum* cultivation for growing the staple produce, i. e., rice. Of course, *chinglau* or *jhum* plots are owned and utilised by almost every household for producing cash crops such as chillies, banana, wild potato, pulses, millet, etc., and such plots within the village boundary are allotted by the village headman and connot be sold to outsiders. Only in the village of Khongkhang paddy is produced through *jhum* plots. As a consequence of their greater dependence on the wet rice cultivation, the settlements have come down towards the valley from the original sites. Thus Lairingkhul has come down from Changlinglok, Purum Khullen has come down from hill top and so on. This new settlement strategy has given them better access to market, educational centres, valley life and valley politics. It is conspicuous that there has been a spurt

in their earning through cash crops. Apart from agriculture blacksmithy, basket making, etc., service in the government offices and village schools also happen to be an additional source of earning.

Consciousness of redefining their identity afresh as akin to the Nagas or trying to uphold the Chote identity as a potential frame of social and political subsistence : The Chote in general have become quite conscious of their Chote identity and to get a place in the panorama of Manipur tribes. They reject the Purum name only because that happens to be their village name. They are not accepting their Kuki affillation. Since 1942, they have organised a Chote general union to bring all round improvement of the Chote. It has a students' wing. Some of the members of students' wing express that they are Nagas but others refute it. Now-a-days, any matter concerning the tribe as a whole is taken up by Chote General Union.

In spite of the fact that the Chote of all the nine villages share some common socic-cultural characteristics, demogenetically they may not be strictly regarded as a single breeding population. Investigation on mating behaviour using genealogical demographic technique may lead us to believe that the Chote can tentatively be defined as consisting of three breeding populations : (1) Chote of the main cluster of the Central region, (2) Chote of village Khongkhang in the south-east and (3) Chote of the village Lumlanghupi in the north-west. There was practically no matrimonial alliance between the Chote of Lumlanghupi and other Chote villages till 1945. However, fusion of the Khongkhang Chote with the Chote of Chumbang (a village in the main cluster), began only after the 2nd world war.

From the traditional historical account of the Chote it may be considered that originating from one parental stock, three groups lived at three centres mentioned above since generations back. Very low degree of admixture is observable between the main cluster and the western centre while higher degree of admixture is noticeable between the main and the eastern centre for the last 30 years or so.

Another point to note is the high degree of admixture between the northwestern extension (of Purum tract) with the Kabui Naga and other adjacent tribal people. Paucity of marriageable partners might have forced them to marry outside the Chote community.

It may be conjectured that during the coming years the rate of admixture between the main cluster and the north-western centre will gradually increase and this may lead to inflow of non-Chote genes among the Chote to a greater extent. It is also expected that the prescription of specific inter-sib marriage alliance will lead to clustering of particular genes within a group of clans among whom marriage is restricted. Another interesting picture may also emerge when the data on clan demography is fully analysed, that whether there is any relationship, between sex ratio and marriage rules.

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SOCIAL MOBILITY IN INDIA : A STUDY OF DEPRESSED CLASS

By

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Abstract : A study of chhatera a multi-caste village 25 miles away from Delhi indicates that a vast majority of the Harijans have given up their traditional occupations. Trends of change in family structure, authority in family, status of women and social commensality, and social mobility have been recorded. It has been observed that mobility among the Harijans is a group movement and is more effective among the present generation. Movement in social hierarchy has not taken place evenly among all the Harijan castes in villages. The mobility is limited to certain areas of social life.

Introduction

THE study of social mobility of a caste[1] or castes is comparatively a new phenomenon in India. Till recently it has been felt that membership of the caste is acquired by birth. It not only directs the individual's relationship and dictates his concept of who he is as a human being but also prevents his mobility in the social hierarchy. The earlier studies, relating to caste system, were mostly confined to segmental division of society, restriction on inter-caste relations, commensality, *inter-caste marriage, rights and* disabilities of different castes etc.[2]

The first detailed and exhaustive study of social mobility was made by Srinivas in a Mysore village. His work on Coorgs[3] not only showed that mobility is possible within the caste system, but also pointed out that there had always been

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mobility within the caste system and the individuals and the groups, through their own conjoint efforts and adoption of sanskritic[4] values, brought out this mobility. With his work on Coorgs, attention of the scholars was drawn to this dynamic aspect of caste and they started studying the mobility aspect of the caste system. Baileys study of a Orissa Village[5] further confirmed Srinivas's findings and indicated that a caste occupying low status in the caste hierarchy, can move up through manipulation of appropriate mechanisms. Alexander's study on social mobility of Pulayas in Kerala[6] and Lynch's study of Jatavs of Agra[7] are some of the important studies which also attributed to the fact that mobility within the caste system is possible. Although there appears to be considerable degree of difference of opinion among the scholars about the factors responsible for the mobility. For instance, Srinivas has talked about Sanskritization and Westernization as most important factors for social mobility, whereas adoption of reference group behaviour and political participation were considered as important factors for mobility by other scholars. In fact, the factors contributing to social mobility of a caste or castes are many and varied and they vary from place to place, culture to culture and time to time. In general, these factors are adoption of Sanskritic values, reference group behaviour, political participation, change in educational standard, occupational pattern, income, life style and aspirations of the members of the caste of castes.

Social mobility, according to Lipset and Bendix, refers to a process by which the individual moves from one position to another in society-positions which by general consent have been specific hierarchical values.[8] Rogoff[9] also used the term social mobility in this limited sense. A much wider connotation of the term was put forward by Cameran. According to him "social mobility occurs when a fairly large number of people band together in order to alter or supplant some portion of the existing outline or social order", or "redistribute the power of control within a society".[10] Mahapatra[11], while critically reviewing the concept of social mobility, however, felt that "movement occurs when a fairly large number of

people or an otherwise identifiable segment of the population deliberately band together for collective action in order to alter, reconstitute, reinterpret, restore, project, supplant, or create some portions of their culture or social order or to better their life chance by redistributing the power of control in a society. These movements occasion repeated collective action over a length of time.

Social mobility for the purposes of the present study refers to movement of the Harijans[12] from lower to higher social status partly due to their own sustained efforts, over a period of time to change their position and partly because of the changes that have occured in the socio-economic life and life style of the Harijans in the general society. The present paper aims at analysing social mobility among the depressed class,[13] namely of Harijans, in the state of Haryana.[14] The analysis of social mobility includes discussion about the changing profile of the Harijans of the village since independence and their movement from lower to higher status. In analysing the social mobility, efforts have also been made to make a comparative study of mobility among the different castes specially Chamars and Bhangis, within the Harijans. The importance of this study lies in the fact that it does not only explain the social mobility of lower castes within a particular village but also helps in understanding the trends of change and social mobility of lower castes in India.

The data for the study, besides documentary resources, were collected through interview schedules and non-participant observations. The schedules were administered to the heads of each of the Harijan families living in the village Chhattera in the State of Haryana to collect data on marriage, family structure, authority in the family, status of women, social commensality, dress, diet, ornaments, housing and habitation. The information about social mobility was also collected through interview schedules. Nonparticipant observation method was made use by staying in the village for a period of about one year primarily to supplement the data gathered through interview schedules. Documentary resources, which included census reports, district gazetters, were also used to

collect and supplement the data on changing profile of the Harijans in the village.

Several limitations were also faced in conducting this study and those included suspicion about the intention of the researcher, non-co-operation from the members of the higher castes and bias and prejudices of the worker himself toward the problems of the Harijans.

The Village and the People

The village Chattera is situated at a distance of 25 miles away from Delhi. It is connected with Delhi by both train and bus. This connection has proved helpful to the villagers. It has enabled 140 to 160 villagers, (40/45 of them were Harijans) to commute to the city for work.

It is a multi-caste village. It has 10 castes, 185 families and 1068 people. The caste-wise distribution of the population is given below. Brahmins (Priest)—246, Jat (Landowner cultivator)—355, Banias (Trader)—45, Sonars (Goldsmith)—40, Lohar (Blacksmith)—35, Khatis (carpenter)—33, Jogis (Tailor)—65, Nais (Barber)—14, Kumbhars (Potter)—12, Harijans (ex-untouchable/Scheduled Castes)—233. The Harijans include Chamars (leather worker) and Bhangis (Sweeper). The strength of population of these two castes are 113 and 120 respectively. They together constitute 21·9 percent of the total population. Among 233 Harijan population, 123 are males and the rest are females. This shows that there is a preponderance of males over the females, which is also the characteristic feature of the region. The distribution of the Harijan population by age is found to be as follows: 0-14 years—8; 15-54 years—111; about 55 years—40. The total number of their families is 32 (Chamars 12 and Bhangis 20). This works out to be 20·8 percent of the total families of the village.

The settlement history of the village indicates the jats and the Brahmins are first to settle in the village. They later brought the Harijans in the village to work in their field, help

them in agriculture and to serve them. They were given place at the outskrits of the village for their settlement.

The main occupation of the villagers is agriculture, although ownership of land is confined to only Jats and Brahmins. The Harijans don't have agricultural land. But they no longer form the mass of the unskilled land less labourers.

The study of the occupational pattern of the Harijans shows that a vast majority of them have dis-associated themselves from their traditional occupations. Increase in job opportunities, facilities provided to them by the Government, change in their educational status and increased unemployment in the village due to mechanization of agriculture are some of the factors which have largly contributed to the change of occupation of the Harijans. The most important factor for this change is not that the better opportunities are available to them but their own desire to improve their lot to attain a higher status in the society. It is significant to note that the change of occupation among the Harijans is much more pronounced in the younger generation than the older generation. However, the older generation has not remained and most of them are fast giving up their traditional callings.

The average per capita income of the villagers is calculated to be about Rs. 750/- per year. The Jats and the Brahmins have the highest per capita income and next to them are the Harijans. Economically the Harijans stand on a better footing as compared to many other castes such as Nais, Khatis, Jogis etc. The per capita annual income of the Harijans is about Rs. 550/-, whereas that of Nais, Khatis and Jogis varies between Rs. 450/- to Rs. 500/-.

Nearly 48 percent of the villagers are literate and educated. The literacy rate among the Harijans is found to be over 40 percent, as opposed to 15 percent during the pre-independence period, of which the Chamars have nearly 45 percent literacy rate. The literacy rate among the Harijans is comparatively higher in comparison to Nais, Khatis, Jogis, Sonars, Lohars and Kumbhars.

In respect of dominance of one caste over other caste, it has been found that Jats are most dominant because of their numerical strength, economic superiority and land ownership position. Next to Jats, are the Brahmins. The Harijans particularly the Chamars, are regarded as the third dominant caste, in the village.

The villagers are conscious about the political process that is going on in the country. But their participation is limited to elections at village panchayat, state assembly and parliamentary levels. Political participation or membership of any political party is not considered important by the villagers in their day-to-day life. On the whole, political participation is not viewed as very important by the villagers. According to them politics means conflicts, dissensions and divisions. Hence, it should be avoided.

The other important features of the village is that the village has a Middle School, a sub-post office, and a youth club. All these have been recently organised in the village by some youth workers, which also includes a few young educated Harijan workers. The village has been adopted by the Hindustan Times[15] a national daily newspaper for their development activities and for giving a fortnightly feature on village life. It has been frequently visited by distinguished visitors from different parts of India. The activities of the Hindustan Times have introduced a number of innovations in the field of agriculture as well as social, economic and educational life of the villagers.

A good number of villagers (60 to 70) have moved to different places of India mainly on pilgrimage. Military service has also enabled 20 to 25 villagers, including 10 to 15 Harijans, to travel different places in India and abroad. The villagers, in general, attach greater significance to movement and as a result the people, who have moved to different places, enjoy greater importance in the village. It is thus significant to note that higher social status is related to geographical movement as well. This movement brings new ideas and

people listen to a variety of experience gained by the visitors by visiting different places.

Changing Profile of the Harijans

The discussion of the changing piofile of the Harijan has been made in respect of their marriage, family structure, authority in the family, status of women, social commensality, dress, ornaments, diet, housing and habitation and possession of modern commodities.

Marriage

The marriage among all the Harijans in the village is considered and was considered a sacrament and not a contract. The people believe that marriage will help in the attainment of salvation as it will make it possible to practise dharma. But this does not mean that they do not allow dissolution of marriage. On the contrary, they allow dissolution of marriage and divorce on several grounds. A man can seek dissolution of marriage and divorce his wife on the grounds of her disobedience, bad character, barrenness and chronic illness. A woman, on the other hand, can ask for divorce from her husband on account of cruelty, impotency, inability to maintain her and chronic illness. But all cases of dissolution of marriage and divorce will have to be approved by their respective caste panchayats. Since last fifty years only four such cases have taken place. In three cases men, all Bhangis, have asked for divorce and only in one case woman (Chamar) was a party to seek divorce. The figures thus indicate that though divorce is permitted, yet the incidence of divorce in the village is rare as it is neither encouraged nor approved by the people. The Harijans, both Chamars and Bhangis, approve remarriage of their young widows in order to provide them security, protection and family life.

The Harijans both Chamars and Bhangis still prefer early marriage of their children. Girls get married between 8 to 14 years of age whereas the marriage age of the boys varies from 15 to 20 years. The primary reason for their preference for early marriage is to marry the girls before they attain

puberty. The other reason is also that the parents want to get rid of their responsibilities by marrying their children at early age. Failure to give in marriage of the children or ward may bring condemnation for the parents or guardians. Another reason which also contributes to this early marriage is the prevalence of the system of bride price[16] amongst the Harijans. The bride price varies on the basis of age-younger the bride, lesser was the price. The Harijans, particularly the Bhangis, are found to prefer early marriage of their children. At the time of this study there was not a single Harijan male in the village, who was not married and was above 20 years of age.

In the selection of a bride or a groom the following factors play an important role such as caste, sub-caste. gotra, family background and physical appearance (in the case of the selection of a bride). All these factors limit their range of selection and confine their marriage relationship within the limited area. The Chamars, in addition to the above factors take into consideration education, occupation and income of the bride-groom for marital purposes.

The existing customs and traditions require that marriage should be arranged with the help of middle-men. They are the main negotiators between the two parties. But the younger generation prefers to have its marriages arranged by parents rather than the middle-men. In the process of negotiation the middleman, mostly a relation, plays an important role. The importance of middle-man is so great that in some cases parents even do not like to see their prospective brides or grooms and entirely depend on them for marriage of their children. Recently, the desire of the parents to see the brides or the grooms for their sons or daughters to avoid future complications and non-availability of a reliable middle men etc. are reducing the importance of middleman as go-between the two parties.

Asura[17] form of marriage was most common, out of all the eight forms of marriages, among the Harijans in earlier times due to the prevalence of system of bride price. Recently,

prajapatya[18] form of marriage is found to be more accepted among the Harijans because of their desire to achieve higher social status. The Harijans feel that the practice of prajapatya form of marriage will reduce the social distance between them and the higher castes as the higher castes also practise the same form. In the prajapatya form, instead of bride price, dowry is given and this does not involve the sense of purchase.

With the change in their forms of marriage, marriages are now solemised by the Brahmin priests, whereas previously marriages were mostly performed by the persons of their own caste men usually the maternal uncles because of the refusal of the Brahmin priests to perform their marriages. Change of social and economic conditions and attitude towards performance of marriage have contributed to this change. It is significant to note that these changes are taking place more among the Chamars than the Bhangis.

Family Structure

All the Harijan families, excepting two which are polygamous families, are monogamous families, whereas a few decades ago the majority of them had polygamous families. Polygamy is no longer regarded as a custom and it is neither encouraged by public opinion, nor successful Harijan males practise it. The replacement of polygamy by monogamy may be attributed to their change in attitude towards life and marriage and also influence of the higher castes. Castes like Jats and Brahmins are at present preferring monogamy so it has become a symbol of higher caste behaviour.

The majority of the Harijans lived and preferred to live in joint families which consisted of husband, wife, their children and other dependents. The dependants sometimes included their own parents and minor siblings Sometimes grown up sons also lived with their parents along with their wives and children. Recently a significant change has occured in the nature of family and the Harijans have started liking the nuclear families comprising of the husband, wife and their

minor children. The proportion of such families at the time of the study was 44 percent. The factors which are contributing to this change are many and varied but the most important ones are: (1) conflict of values between the parents and their children and also between the mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law: (2) greater desire to lead relatively independent life especially among the younger generation; (3) desire to avoid unnecessary quarrels and dispute within the family; and (4) lack of proper and adequate accommodation in the parental home. The Chamars have more nuclear families than the Bhangis, because in comparison to the Bhangis they have advanced more in relation to their education and employment which in turn have inculcated among them greater tendency to live separately and independently of their parents.

Authority in the Family

In the family it is found that some significant changes have taken place in regard to exercise of avthority. Formerly fathers or the male heads of the families exercised the authority and power. They were regarded as undisputed heads of the families. They could do and undo anything without consulting any body. Now the father or male head of the family is no longer regarded as undisputed head. The changes have taken place in relation to the exercise of authority are that the authority is now shared between female members and also the grown up children. The decisions in regard to construction of houses, purchase of lands, entering into legal suits, marriages of the children etc. are mostly taken together and jointly. This shift and dispersal of authority are very much liked by the members of the family. This gives them an opportunity to have some "say" in the decision making that process affecting the family.

The factors which have brought out such transformation are education among the younger generation and their greater contact with the outside world. The realization among the older generation about the changing trends in the society has been of great help in this shift. The older generation has

realized that for peaceful co-existence in the family they should share some of the authority with other younger members of the family.

Status of Women

Incomparison to women of other castes in the village, women among Harijans enjoyed and are still enjoying mostly an equal status with men. Although the husband is the head of the family, yet the husband-wife relationship continues to be more or less equal or if it is unequal, there is not as much gap as in the case of higher castes. The reasons for allowing women almost an equal status are the following : prevalence of system bride price their relative economic independence, attitude of the Harijan males towards their women folk. The Harijans do not consider their woman as a liability. They consider their women as an equal partner because of their relative by economic independence. Though Srinivas has said that Sanskritization among the castes lower in the hierarchy results into deterioration in the status of women[19], yet such a loss of status has not been found taking place among the Harijans in the village Chhattera. The equality in the status of the husband and wife is found in a number of behavioural patterns between men and women in the village. For instance, women are found sitting and talking in the presence of their husbands without any inhibition. Seldom are they found getting up from their seats as their husbands come to the house. In many cases both the husbands and wives are found taking food together and going out to visit friends, fairs and markets.

In the families the daughters are also not found suffering from any loss of status and within the family, no discrimination among the children on the basis of sex is made. Both sons and daughters grew up without any segregation and move about without any inhibition and mix freely with others.

Social Commensality

Like other castes in the village, both the higher and middle,[20] the Harijans—Chamars and Bhangis, are still observing certain rules govering commensality and no signi-

ficant change has taken place in this respect. Members of the same caste and sub-caste usually dine with each other. They smoke from the same *hookah* unless ostracised from the caste or are suffering from serious infections disease. Beyond the caste and sub-caste commonsality observance is more rigrous.

The Chamars and Bhangis are next door neighbours in the village but the former are ever hesitant to dine with the latter. Of course, this commensality rules may be overlooked on the political platform and the social distance observed may be glosed over to emphasize the solidarity of the Harijans. But in actual practice a significant distance is maintained in food, drink and contact, although the educated and progressive younger generation is trying to defy these rules.

Dress

There is some change in the dress pattern of the Harijans. The change, whatever little it might be, is in accordance with the change in general dress pattern of the people. The dress pattern in the village varies with sex and age and not so much on the basis of castes and that is why the Harijans can be found following mostly the same pattern of dress as all others in the village. The only caste difference which can be observed in the village is in relation to the use of *pagri*. While all the elderly Jats use *pagri* especially when they go out, Harijans do not use Pagri regularly.

The elderly men use *dhoti* and kurta and during winter in attition to this they use a kind of warm cloth *kambal* or *khais*. The younger people recently have started using trousers and shirts or *pyjama* and *kurta* while going out of the village. The young children (male) use half pant and shirt for going to school and *pyjama* and shorts inside the village.

The women have a greater variety of dress and they had more number of dress than their men in the village. The elderly women who are within the age group of 25 to 40 and are married mainly use loose *pyjama* and *kameeze*. The un-married and young girls use relatively tight *pyjama* and *kamees* inside the village and suit comprising of *salwar* and *jumpher* outside the village. *Tuli*, an unlaced shoe, made

locally as per order, is the most common foot wear of both the sexes in the village. Rarely any man or woman, excluding young kids will be found moving barefooted.

In this context it is worth noting that Harijans in the village do not suffer from any limitations in relation to their dress. It is also important to note that the Harijans have started wearing clean clothes like the higher caste people in their desire to reduce the social distance and thereby to go up in the social hierarchy. Apart from these, spread of education and increasing assimilation of higher caste values, and maintenance of a minimum degree of cleanliness has become a value with them. All the Harijans use the *dhoti* up to foot and rarely they will be seen using *dhoti* above knee.

Ornaments

Ornaments worn by the Harijan women are illustrious both quantitatively and qualitatively. The constitute both the *Sringar* (adornment) of a woman as well as the barometer of her family's economic position. The women use ornaments for head, ears, nose, wrist, waist and foot and mostly these ornaments are made of silver. The difference which has taken place in relation to the use of ornaments, due to their change in economic position, is that many Harijan women have started using ornaments made of gold especially for ear, nose and neck. Another important change is that these women have more or less stopped using zinc ornaments.

Diet

The diet of the Harijans include both vegetarian and non-vegetarian foods and in this way they differ from all other caste members in the village, as excepting team all other castes in the village take vegetarian diet. Normally they take two meals although the number and nature of the diet differs on the basis of the economic conditions of the family and the season. Preference for vegetarian diet is a recent phenomenon and it can be said that this change from non-vegetarianism to vegetarianism it a new trend and it has started taking place only a few years before. The influence of the other higher castes and the prestige and value attached to the vegetarianism have

brought out this change. A few years ago, the *caste panchayats* of both Chamars and Bhangis decided to change their food pattern and asked their members to take vegetarian food. The present change is in line with the instructions of the caste panchayat.

Habitation and Housing

The Harijans live in the outskirts of the village, i.e. north eastern part of the village, since the time of their settlement in the village. No significant change has taken place in relation to their place of habitation till now. Excluding twelve Bhangi families who had *kutcha houses*, all others have *pucca houses*. This is a change which has taken place with the change in their economic conditions. The motivating force for construction of *pucca houses* is their desire to improve their status. In their desire to improve their status, they have become anxious to have same type of *pucca houses* as other higher castes in the village.

Previously the Harijans used to live in *kuchcha houses* as they were not allowed to build up *pucca houses*. Now their *pucca houses* are made of brick, sand and cement and these mostly constitute one big room or one or two small rooms. Inspite of this change in the nature of housing, Harijans of the village face limitations in regard to their housing. The limitations are : (1) they are not allowed to construct their houses in the centre of the village, (2) they are resisted from constructing double storied buildings. Another problem which the Harijans face in relation to their housing is that till recently they have little rights over their own housing sites.

Possession of modern commodities

The Harijans of the village are not lagging behind in relation to the possession of modern commodities. Seven Harijan families have installed electricity in their houses. A good number of them own radio-sets, sewing machines and modern furniture, though a majority of them have received these as presents in the marriages of their sons. These people have started possessing the modern commodities only very recently as upto 1960 none of them owned any radio-set or sewing

machine. The factors which have attributed to their ownership of modern commodities are change of their economic condition and their desire to live like other higher castes.

Social Mobility

Social mobility, which refers to movements of lower caste people from lower to higher positions in the social hierarchy, has been discussed in respect of the following indicators the following indicators of upward movement, namely entry of Sanskritic literature and services of the Brahmins in worshiping deities, modes of addressing persons, services to the higher castes and vice-versa, disabilities in relation to entering into schools and construction of houses, restrictions on commensality and observance of untouchability.

Entry into the Temples

The Harijans of the village do not face any problem in respect of their entry into the temples and worshiping their deities there, whereas a few decades ago they were not allowed to enter into the temples and worship deities because of the fear of pollution. Introduction of new Coustitution, influence of Gandhiji, persistant efforts of Arya Samaj, change of attitude of the higher caste people, education and economic conditions of the Harijans are some of the factors which attributed to this change The adoption of higher caste values in the ways of living of the Harijans and a general decline in the influence of religion on society also contributed greatly to this change. The Harijans, not only of the village but also of the surrounding region, decided as early as in 1950 to change their style of life, particularly in relation to food, cloth occupation, etc. Those who are able to adhere to this change got easy approval of the higher caste people in respect of their entry into the temples, whereas the others, who failed to adhere to this chnge, took time to get the same facility.

Use of Sanskritic Literature and services of the Brahmins

Presently the Harijans, particularly the Chamars, are making use of sanskritic literature and the services of the Brahmins in the worship of their deities. This is a significant

change from their early position, because as early as in 1950s the Harijans used to perform their religious festivals and rituals through their own priests and in their own way. They were also not allowed to use the sanskritic literature. Any effort to use sanskritic literature and services of the Brahmins by them were severely criticised and condemned. The factors, which brought out these changes from their early position in respect of the use of sanskritic literature, are change in their own socio-economic conditions and their own style of living. Gradual reduction of the influence of Brahmins and subsequent decline in their economic conditions also prompted the Brahmins of the village to work as their priests. It should also be noted that the Brahmins who work as priests of the higher castes namely Brahmins and Jats still do not work as priest of the Harijans.

Modes of Address to the Persons

The Harijans of the village, in general, till recently dare not to address any higher caste people by taking their names and also they do not expect that the higher castes people will call them by names without using any derogatory term. The Harijans address the higher caste people by using such honorific terms like '*Panditji*', '*Chowdhury*' etc. and the higher castes people call them by taking their caste names, namely '*Chamar*' and *Bhangi*. Adherence to this mode of address is very keenly and enthusiastically observed by the higher castes people because of their desire to maintain the social distance, and violation of this by the lower castes people bring punishment to them.

All efforts of the Harijans, specially of the *Chamars*, to bring out change in the modes of address because of the change in their educational, occupational and economic conditions and style of life have been frowned upon by the higher caste people. And they have not been able to gain much, although the younger generation among them has decided to carry on their resistence in respect of the modes of address i e. not to respond unless the higher caste people call them by names and not use any honarific terms while addressing them.

Serving of food to the higher castes and vice-versa

Inspite of several changes in their style of living, education, occupation and economic positions, the Harijans till recently are not allowed to serve food to the higher castes, especially to the Brahmins in their homes. They are also not served by the higher castes and the castes which serve the higher castes. In the village, even now, when the upper castes people serve them food, they serve them in different utensils which they have to wash themselves. In some cases they have to purify the place with cow dung. Even though majority of the Harijans do not like being treated in this way, they are also unable to extract a better way of treatment from the higher castes people in spite of their efforts to boycott the invitations from the higher castes. The slight difference, which has taken place in connection with this disability, is with regard to the educated younger generation among these people. The younger educated groups, who have made some achievements in education and occupation, are treated in a little better way, as they are found offered food in higher caste houses and also they are not asked to wash their dishes after eating.

With the change in their condition, change in the attitude of the higher castes people, introduction of new Constitution and enactment of untouchability offences act many of the disabilities, such as entering the schools, using the same well, etc. have been removed, although even upto 1960 the Harijans of the village suffered from several such disabilities. But still these people, more so the Bhangis. who have not been able to change their socio-economic conditions suffer from some restrictions in relation to their construction of houses. They are neither allowed to construct their houses in the centre of the village nor encouraged to construct double—storied buildings.

Restriction on Commensality

According to the caste rules commensality with lower castes is tabooed and no higher caste person takes food from or along with a Harijan. Even now, with the exception of a few handful educated young Harijans, the higher castes people in the

village strictly follow the restrictions on inter-caste commensality. They neither take food from them nor allow their children to take food with them. Thus one of the important means of discrimination on the basis of castes still continues. This is probably due to the attitude of the people which has been transmitted to them from generations to generation.

Observation on untouchability

The observation of untouchability is another behavioural pattern which symbolises the low status of the Harijans in the village. According to this, Harijans are not permitted to come closer to the higher castes, enter into the houses of the higher castes are also to sit side by side with them.

In spite of several changes, both in their position and also in the situation of the village, many of these are still practised. Although in the public places the higher caste persons do not object to their sitting nearer to or next to them or coming closer to them, yet in their private life they do object to it. Even now in the village none of the Harijans, except the young educated one, is allowed to sit in the same *charpai* (string cot) by the side of the higher caste people. They are also not allowed to came very closer. Thus in relation to the practice of untouchability the higher castes people have developed a double standard.

Summary and Conclusion

The analysis of social mobility thus reveals the following facts :

The Harijans, particularly the Chamars, have greatly changed their educational level and occupational pattern. They are no longer regarded as illiterate and unskilled landless labourers. They have also been able to a great extent dissociate themselves from their traditional occupations. This has become practically complete among the Chamars. Increase in educational and occupational opportunities, constitutional previleges and desire among the Harijans to change their conditions and to move up in the social hierarchy contributed to this change. Adoption of mechanised farming practised by

the Jats and the Brahmins also forced the Harijans to search for jobs in other fields other than agriculture. This change of occupation has taken place only recently and mostly confined to the members belonging to younger generation of the Harijan community.

The life style of the Harijans has also undergone several changes and has fallen in line with the life style of the higher castes. The changes, that have taken place in the different areas of life style, namely marriage, family structure, exercise of authority in the family, dress, diet, ornaments, housing and possession of modern commodities, are mainly due to interplay of several factors and not due to any particular factor. The factors which have brought out changes in their life style are the following : spread of education among the Harijans, change in their occupational pattern and income, change in the influence of the higher caste people, change in attitude of both higher caste people and a strong desire among the Harijans to go up in the social hierarchy.

The change of life style is not uniform among all the castes within the Harijans. Chamars have changed more their life style than the Bhangis. In comparison to Bhangis, the Chamars have changed their conditions more in respect of education, occupation and income.

The changes that have taken place in the life style of the Harijans are the following : education, occupation and income, particularly of the groom, are now taken into consideration along with caste, subcaste, *gotra* and family background in the selection of a groom or a bride ; the influence of the middleman has decreased considerably of reliable and efficient middleman and the parents' desire to see the boys and girls themselves ; *prajapatya* form of marriage is becoming more popular primarily because of their desires to go up in the social hierarchy ; the services of the Brahmin priests are more utilised in solemnising the marriage because of chance in socio-economic conditions ; the nuclear families are now increasingly coming into existence and the Harijans have developed greater liking for nuclear families partly because of

less conflicts and partly because it provides great opportunities for individual development; monogamy is becoming popular than polygamy and authority of the family is now increasingly shared not only with the female heads of the family but also with the grown up children of the family in order to avoid conflicts; bride price is giving way to dowry because af the higher castes' influence; vegetarianism is being considered as higher value and the people are shifting towards vegetarianism from non-vegetarianism; and golden ornaments, pucca houses, ownership of modern commodities are becoming more popular because of change of economic conditions and attitude towards life.

The Harijans have not been able to move much in the social hierarchy, although they have changed their conditions considerably. They have improved their positions in respect of their entry into temples, use of sanskritic literature and services of the Brahmins in the worship of the deities, entering into schools and use of common wells, but have failed to change their condition in terms of mode of address, services to the higher castes and vice-versa, restrictions on commensality and practice of untouchability.

The movement is also not uniform among all the castes and people within the Harijans. The Chamars, who have considerably changed their conditions in respect of education, occupation, income and life style, have been able to make significant movement towards higher social positions than the Bhangis. Even within the Chamars, younger generation people, because of their greater education, better occupation and stronger desire for higher social positions, have been able to change their conditions more and move up to the social hierarchy.

The higher caste people have developed double standard in connection with the practice of untouchability. In their outer world contracts they are not rigid in relation to the practice of untouchability, whereas in their inner world contracts they are adament to practise untouchability in all its forms.

The social scene which thus emerge is that the Harijans have been able to change their position and move up in the social hierarchy, although their movement is slow. The characteristic feature of this upward movement are the following :

The mobility is related to the change in the life style

The movement of the Harijans into higher social position is closely related to their change in the life style. The life style of the Harijans have undergone several changes and has fallen in line with the life style of the higher castes. The changes in the life style have taken place in the areas of marriage, family structure, exercise of family authority dress, diet, ornaments, housing and possession of modern commodities. This changes have enabled them to achieve comparatively higher positions, which were otherwise a distant goal for them.

The Mobility is the result of Interplay of Several Factors

The movement of the Harijans in the social hierarchy is the result of interplay of several factors and not of any single factor. The factors which have contributed to the achievement of higher social position by the Harijans are the following : spread of education among the Harijans the Harijans of the village within the last two decades have greatly changed their educational status due to increase in educational opportunities and facilities ; change in occupational pattern—increase facilities available to change the occupation, adoption of mechanised farming practices by land owning population of the village and the desire to move up in the social hierarchy by dis-associating from traditional occupations are the factors chiefly responsible for change in occupational pattern of the Harijan ; increase in income with the subsequent change in the occupation ; change in the influence of higher caste people—independence and enactment of new constitution brought out several changes in the social conditions of the country and one of such change is that the people who were so long exercising influence only because of their position in a particular caste

considerably lost their importance ; change in the attitude of the higher caste people and a strong desire among the Harijans to go up in the social hierarchy. Adoption of the higher caste values by the Harijans is another important factor which also attributed greatly to the change of position of the Harijans in the village.

The mobility is a group movement and a group effort

The movement of the Harijans into higher social position is a sustained group movement and a group effort and not of individual movement or individual effort. Such interdependence is found not only among the Harijans of the village but also of the region. This has helped the whole group to move upward. The group imposes certain values on the member in regard to occupation and food etc. This change in values does help them to move up in social hierarchy as a group.

The Mobility is more among the Present Young Generation

The Harijans, in general, have been successful in changing their social position. But in comparison to older generation, the younger generation has become more successful to change their social position partly because of their better education, occupation, income and greater motivation and partly due to older generations, attitude towards caste system. Many of the older people among the Harijans have so much accepted the present caste oriented system that they do not find anything against it and they do not like to change their position. They consider their present position as divinely ordained and there is nothing to do to change their present status and position.

The Mobility has dot taken place among all the Harijan Castes

The movement in the social hierarchy has not taken place evenly among all the Harijans castes in the village. The movement is more among the castes which have been able to adopt higher caste values. That is why the Chamars in the village have been able to change their position more than the Bhangis.

The Mobility is Limited to Certain Areas of Social Life

The movement of the Harijans into higher social hierarchy is not all pervasive and it is confined to certain areas of life only. The Harijans have changed their position in respect of entry into the temples, use of sanskritic literature and services of the Brahmins in the worship of the deities, entering into the schools, hospitals and use of wells but they have failed to improve their position in terms of mode of address, service to the higher castes and vice-versa, restrictions on communality and practice of untouchability.

NOTES AND READINGS

1. The caste system is a distinctive feature of the Indian Social system. It constitutes the most universal social structure of the Indian society and no society in the world is more structured or stratified as that of the Indian society. Caste divides the Hindu society into various groups with varying degree of prestige, responsibility and circles of social intercourse. The castes within the caste-system are distinguished from one another by the existence of special rights for some groups and disabilities for others. These are again differentiated on the basis of existence of certain vocational, connubial and commensal restrictions. This has also led to a definite scheme of social procedure with the Brahmins at the top and Harijans at the bottom.
2. K. C. Alexander. "Social Mobility in Kerala", Deccan College, Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1268,
3. M. N. Srinivas, "Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India", Oxford, Clarenden Press, 1952.
4. Sanskritization refers to adoption of dominant caste values (previously Brahmanic values) by the lower caste people in their desire to change their status.
5. F. G. Bailey, "Caste and the Economic Frontier"—A village in High Land Orissa" Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1998.
6. K. C. Alexander, Social Mobility in Kerala Deccan College Poona 1958.
7. Owen, Lynch, "The Polities of Untouchability", Columbia University Press, New York, 1969.

8. Lipset S. M. and Bendix R, "Social Mobility in Industrial Society", University of California Press, 1959.

9. Rogoff, Natalic, "Recent Trends in Urban Occupational Mobility", An Article, in class status and power, ed. by Bendix Reinhard and Lipset Seymonb Martin, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., England, 1954.

10. B. K. Roy Burman & Others, "Social Mobility Movement anong Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India", Office of the Registrar General, India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi-11, 1967,

11. S. K. Mohaptra, "Social Movement Among Tribes in Eastern India—A Preliminary Analysis, Socielogers" Vol. 18, No. 1, New Series, Germany, 1968.

12. The term 'Harijan' was first used by Gandhiji to indicate the ex-untouchables, present scheduled castes. of India. Harijans meant son of God. In the present study the term Harijans has been used to indicate the Chamars (leather worker) and the Bhangis (sweeper).

13. The term depressed class is used to indicate the people belonging to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and denotified tribes.

14. Haryana is an adjoining state of the Union Territory Delhi, India.

15. The Hindustan Times is one of rhe largest circulated news daily of Delhi. The authorities particularly its chief Editor is interested in rural development activities and they have adopted the village as their field of activity.

16. Bride price—under this system which is prevalent among lower castes only. The parents or guardians of the groom pay money to the parents or guardians of the brides.

17 & 18. Among the Hindus there are eight forms of marriage namely, Dharma, Daiva, Arsha, Prajapatya, Ashura, Gandharva, Rakshasa and Paishacha. Excepting the last three forms of marriage, in all others forms marriage of the daughter is given by her father or guardian. In Ashura form of merriage, the father or guardian gives marriage of the daughter or ward after receiving some prices, whereas in prajapatya form of marriage the father or

relative gives marriage of their daughters or word by pronouncing some mantras and without taking any prices.

19. The adoption of sanskritic values by the Harijans have relatively reduced status of their woman. The Harijans are forcing their woman inside their homes and are depriving them their equal status with men in their desire to imitate the values of the higher castes.
20. The Brahmin and the Jats are treated as higher castes in the village, whereas the Nais, Khatis, Jogis, Lohars, Kumbhars are treated as castes higher than the Harijans and lower than the Brahmins and the Jats.

GLOSSARY

Caste Panchayat	A body comprising of caste elders to exercise control over the caste members.
Chowdhuri	Headman, leader.
Charpiaya	Wooden cot. *Mostly* used by the villagers in the Northern India.
Dhoti	Male wear.
Gotra	Non-localised patrilineal clan.
Hookah	Pipe, hubble-bubble.
Kumpher	A kind of cotton or silkan upward garments used by women,
Kurta	Collar-less shirt.
Kambal	A kind of warm woolen cloth used in the winter.
Khais	A kind of warm ootton cloth used in mild winter. This is mostly prepared by the village weavers.
Kameez	A loose shirt worn by women.
Kutcha House	House built of mud, stone and bamboo.
Pyjama	Loose trousers worn by men.
Pucca House	House built of brick, sand, and cement.
Panditji	An honorific term used to address Brahmin.
Tuli	An unlaced handmade shoe.
Salwar	Loose trousers worn by women.
Sringar	Adornment.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

Sir,

I have gone through the miscellaneous note on "The Native hits back" by *Dr. Surajit Sinha* published in *Man in India* in the Vol. 55 No. 1, page 78-81, 1975 and also the comment on the same by Ajit Danda, in Vol. 55 No. 2 page 179-181, 1975.

During several informal talks with Dr. Sinha, I intimated to him, that we are going to instal a Research Institute for Social Studies in Purulia after the name of late Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose and also a museum in memory late Debendra Nath Mahato. The main purpose of this venture was to effectively activise a band of indigenous Scholars who have formal training in Social Sciences. These Scholars themselves would study and interpret the society and culture of their own locality and would also like to play an effective role in assisting the research projects undertaken by 'Outside' Scholars in formulating and planning of their research programmes and, finally, in scrutinizing the results. These decisions were taken after some experience of seeing anthropologists, folk-lorists and other social scientists going about their task and misinterpreting the customs of the region. Some examples may be cited here. Two lecturers of Kalyani University went to the District of Purulia in 1973 for field investigation on the level of primary education. In the questionnarie they used, there were several leading questions to judge the attitude of the people. One such question asked of the innocent villagers was: "Do you believe in the emancipation of women"? Obviously, a person who does not know the purport of the question would fail to give proper answer to the question. Even in Government printed records we occasionally find mis-enumeration. In District handbook of Purulia (1961) 'Korwa' (2450 souls) a Mundari speaking tribe was shown to reside in Hura P. S.

Astonishingly, no such tribal people reside there. This also must have been due to administering of irrelevant questionnaire by the staff who are not familiar with the region. Similarly, Dr. Ashutosh Bhattacharya explained the use of mask during *Chou* dance for covering "the ugly human feature". Such a fanciful explanation coming from a folk-lorist who was trained by Dr. Verrier Elwin, the eminent anthropologists, does not give any credit to the "outsiders". In another book Sri Chittaranjan Dev gave a wrong interpretation of a song because he failed to grasp the meaning of the word *Kulhi* in local dialect. Many more examples of such gross misinterpretation mainly due to lack of familarity with regional cultural milieu could be recounted.

As an indigen of the region I pointed out these glaring mistakes several times, verbally and also in writing. In these I was not motivated as an anthropologist but as an insider whose sensibility is violated by these obviously misconstrued renderings of my culture. That is why I suggested that, for a change, instead of depending primarily on "outsiders" to interpret our cultures let us encourage indegenous scholars who will be able to start with a broad understanding of the lay out and nuances of their culture. If these endogenous bases of research are properly developed, they would create condition for effective collaboration between endogenous and outside scholars for gaining an elaborate understanding of the cultural pattern and processes in depth.

Danda is afraid that the endogeneous scholars are trying to control and curb anthropologists' professional activities. We are not trying to do this. We only want to say, at the pain of saying the obvious, that scholars coming from the local communities are in many respects more advantageously situated to interpret their own culture. Danda fails to see my line of argument when he questions a *plain insider's* credibility vis-a-vis *anthropologist insider* to interfere in the anthropologist's task. I may point out here that, anthropogists do get influenced by many mundane things in the field

as several critical essays on anthropologists' experience and methods prove. Besides, anthropologists very often tend to use *key informants* in his field investigation. His course of judgement too very often is influenced by these key-informants. Therefore, when Danda refuses to be "influenced" by insiders I get rather puzzled.

Danda rejects the *plain insiders'* claim to be associated as a colleague with the anthropologists. What I want to drive at is that as anthropologists have already accepted *the key-informant*, who is nothing other than *knowledgeable lay insiders*, a little effort to channelise these insiders' help should not be deemed to be a disservice but a help to the groping anthropologists. There is an emic view of culture and one of the recent development in anthropological studies is exploring the cognitive world of the 'native' in depth. A "learned lay insider" may provide conceptual insights to the anthropologist for gaining access to the cognitive world of his subjects of enquiry. Danda should appreciate this.

Pashupati Prasad Mahato

BOOK REVIEWS

India : The Social Anthropology of a Civilization *by Bernard S. Cohn, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1971. 164 pages.*

Bernard Cohn admits "it is an act of intellectual arrogance" to write a meaningful essay on the anthropology of as complex and vast an entity as Indian Civilization within 164 pages. But he has gone about his task with considerable skill and good judgement. Although he has relied primarily on the anthropological literature published between 1950 and 1970, Cohn has brought into his presentation a refreshing historic perspective usually missed in anthropological writings.

This book is essentially an exercise in bringing together a range of perspectives for gaining a proper anthropological understanding of Indian Civilization. The emphasis is on highlighting different approaches to study than on communicating the substantive contents of Indian Civilization. Instead of searching Indianness in terms of a catalogue of cultural traits, Cohn lays emphasis on : the discovery of the essential process, the study of cultural communication and structural types.

In chapters two, three and four the author neatly provides background information on 'India as a geographic entity', 'cultural and historical geography' and 'demography, economic structure and language'. In the following chapter he makes the point that it is not enough for a student of Indian Civilization to know 'objective' history as reconstructed by historians. Every Indian—pre-literate or literate, tribal, peasant or urban—carries in his mind many conceptions of the past which guide his behaviour. The

highly segmented and stratified notions of the past are now under the process of emergence of a more unified and standardized national consciousness of the past.'

For the students of anthropology who are accustomed to rely almost exclusively on the present scene for their understanding of the social and cultural patterns and processes, the brief discourse in chapters eight and nine on the state of Indian society at the inception of British conquest, will provide a very useful perspective for looking into the adaptive strategies and processes of the civilization under different historic conditions.

In the three chapters dealing specifically with "Indian social structure and culture" (Chapters 10, 11 and 12) the author initially highlights some of the basic underlying uniformities in social relations and values in terms of an over-riding notion of hierarchy, related to 'purity-polution continuum' and a fundamental orientation towards group—*biradari*, *jati* etc.—rather than the individual. Cohn refers to a number of recent studies on family structures in Indian and summarises that the data do not indicate a simple trend towards the breakdown of the joint family structure under the impact of urbanization and modernization. On the other hand, there are indications of adaptative capacity of the traditional joint family structure in running modern business and intrepreneurial activities.

The chapter on caste clarifies some of the existing confusions about the operation of the system. It has been clearly pointed out that the primary occupation of most rural Indians, in the present as well as in the past, has been caste-free agriculture, but the crafts and rituals which demanded considerable skill and training are usually restricted to members of particular castes. Cohn, however, does not venture to construct a model of a caste mode of productive organization.

Close association of regions, usually controlled by chieftains or kings, with the local caste orders in pre-modern India has been illustrated with several cases. With the establishment of British Rule and in more recent times, the localized hierarchically arranged caste ties have yielded in favour of far flung horizontally organised *jati* associations taking advantage of the modern means of communication.

While discussing 'The Indian Village', Cohn indicates social implications of variations in settlement patterns, population and the number of castes living together in a single village. It has been pointed out that before the coming of the British the basic unit of local social structure was not the village, but a collection of villages forming the "little kingdom". With the political and revenue system introduced by the British, the village has increasingly become the centre of local politics.

According to Cohn there has been a fundamental change in the relationship between the city and the village during the last hundred years. With the expansion of the administration, launching of comprehensive development programmes and involvment of the whole Indian population in elected bodies at the district, State and national levels, the Indian villager is being increasingly drawn into the orbit of the State and the national system as he has never been in history. At the same time, cultural gap between town and country, may be increasing.

In the concluding chapter Cohn stretches his analysis in the direction of future. He identifies five components in the current situation which are guiding the course of the future shape of society and culture in India. These components are : "the growth of population and the changing demographic composition of Indian population", the social as well as economic effects of greatly increased agricultural yields—the 'Green Revolution'," "the in-

crease of region-wide communication systems" and the development of strong regional identities, the effects of change in elite structure, and the consequence of modern mass democratic politics for the social structure. He has rightly indicated that absolute growth in population and changes in the demographic profile are bound to affect the pivotal institutions of Indian Society like caste, and kinship and village community. I need not recount here the other cautious predictions that he has made on the emerging political system and standardization of national culture.

I would strongly recommend this book to the graduate and post-graduate students for gaining a critical, multi-faceted perspective in the study of Indian Civilization as a social anthropologist. For scholars who may be looking forward to the summation of the results of sustained researched insights of an eminent social scientist who has been a devoted student of Indian society and culture for over two decades, the book may not fulfil all the expectations. May be, the author is more interested in this book in being authentically electic rather than pressing a grand Indian design of cultural processes too sharply and too deeply. This small book was aimed at a limited objective of conveying to fellow social scientists that it is possible to develop a genuine anthropological approach to the study of as large and complex an entity as Indian civilization. This task of introducing the subject has been done exceedingly well.

S. Sinha

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL FIELDWORK, EMPATHY, AND THE CRISIS OF THE APOCALYPTIC MAN*

By

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Introduction

Shifts in the Self-Image of the Anthropologist

Abstract : The often alluded to "crisis in anthropology" is discussed in this paper with reference to the ideological basis of anthropological fieldwork and the self-image of the anthropologists, and it is suggested that the perception of crisis can be interpreted as a crisis in the apocalyptic self-image of the anthropologist rather than as due to the existence of a general malaise in the discipline. A belief in the moral authority of empathy arose in the context of the late 19th and early 20th century experience of Western intellectuals and such a belief provided the ideological rationale legitimizing participant observation and the image of the anthropologist as an apocalyptic man. It is argued that a new self-image which is congruent with the socio-political and economic realities of the modern world will help eliminate the perception of crisis in anthropology.

MANY scholars have expressed doubts about the relevance and the future of anthropology (*see*, for example, Hymes 1972 ; Weaver 1973 : 112-179). Some have predicted the discipline's demise, viewing the development of

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disciplinary anthropology as an episode in history, and have suggested that a new discipline will emerge, eventually replacing or making obsolete much of what has been done during the past one hundred years. Anthropology is frequently represented as a "child of imperialism" or as "academic colonialism," and there have been attempts to "reinvent" or "rediscover" anthropology. Orientations such as "authentic anthropology," "reflexive anthropology," "radical anthropology," "experimental anthropology," and relevant antropology" are offered as alternatives to the supposedly sterile and objectifying approaches in anthropology.

Kaplan (1974 : 825) states in his review of the collection of essays edited by Hymes (1972) that those who are in the process of reinventing or rediscovering anthropology advocate a "voluntaristic existential brand of radicalism with its emphasis on subjectivity, consciousness, praxis, and the search for the authentic self." Kaplan's evaluation, that those who advocate alternative approaches basically incorporate in their arguments an existentialist/phenomenological philosophy, is valid.

It is also possible to state that such an epistemological orientation has been from the early 20th century an important aspect of the belief structure of anthropologists and of Western intellectuals in general. The "voluntaristic existential brand of radicalism with its emphasis on subjectivity, conciousness, praxis, and the search for the authentic self" has been the philosophical rationale of anthropological fieldwork since the days of Malinowski and Boas. This rationale, which posits the moral authority of empathy, has provided the ideological legitimacy for participant observation and for the conception of the anthropologist as an apocalyptic man.

I suggest that the existentialist/phenomenological philosophy of anthropological fieldwork made the anthropologist to overlook the fact that it was the political-economic dominance of the West which enabled him to undertake anthropological fieldwork through participant observation. He came to believe that the source of his authority over subjects or objects of study was his having empathy. He discarded the 19th century

self-image as a social philosopher or reformer and as a compiler of exotic data, and a new self-image as the romantic-empathetic hero who had the moral right to apprehend and reveal the primitive world to the world at large was substituted.

The belief in the moral authority of empathy is considered in this paper as the ideology of empathy. The Western experience of being an anthropologist, or in general, an intellectual in the early 20th century, was projected and idealized into a system of intellectual respectibility and rationale for undertaking fieldwork and for having a particular self-image. The ideology of empathy distorted the actual factors which facilitated fieldwork, and functioned to validate the apocalyptic self-image of the anthropologist as a revealer of truth about humanity and as the savior of the vanishing "primitive."

Anthropological fieldwork through participant observation was and is possible mainly because of the existence of a dominant-subordinate status relationship between the studier and the studied. Hughes (1974 : 30) correctly observes that "The person doing the studying used to simply arrogate to himself and his kind the license to study the other. The studied were helpless to prevent being studied except by the means common to all humans of shutting their mouths, by not communicating, by misinforming in one way or other." Empathy was a viable ideology in this context, providing the anthropologist the intellectual/psychological satisfaction that he was in fact engaged in rendering great service to the subjects or objects of study through the sympathetic understanding of their symbolic systems and through defending them.

The socio-political relationships of the nation-states of the modern world are quite different from what they were in the early 20th century when anthropologists came to acquire that belief structure. In the first half of the 20th century the anthropologist studied the politically and economically helpless, and this had great personal meaning not only for the anthropologist and other intelletuals but also to the people studied ; the moral authority of the anthropologist went unchallenged.

The moral authority of the Western anthropologist is increasingly repudiated today, and a new self-image of the anthropologist which is congruent with the realities of the modern-day world must replace an earlier apocalyptic image. But all ideologies die hard, hand shifts in self-image generate anxiety. The "voluntaristic existential brand of radicalism with its emphasis on subjectivity, consciousness, praxis, and the search for the authentic self" may be seen as an effort to sustain an untenable self-image.

In Section II of this paper I discuss the relationship between empathy and the apocalyptic self-image. In Section III an examination of the sociology of anthropology of anthropological fieldwork is undertaken in order to show that it is important to take into account the dynamics of the dominance-subordinance relationship between the studier and the studied. In Section IV I analyze the psychology of anthropological fieldwork.

Empathy and the Apocalyptic Man

Empathy is defined in Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary as "the imaginative projection of s subjective state into an object so that the object appears to be infused with it ; the capacity for participating in another's feelings and ideas." Empathy is sometimes referred to as a noble quality or attribute of modern man and is interpreted as an indicator of the existence of urban or modern value systems (c.f. Lerner 1958 ; Rudolph and Rudolph 1967 : 101-102). The term is used loosely in anthropology to designate how the "native's point of view" is achieved and is conceptualized as a part of the methodology of participant observation. As Bruyn (1966 : 278) puts it : "The participant observer in the social sciences studies meanings which exist in the minds of people other than himself by empathetically taking their roles as though they were his own...." In American anthropology the concept of empathy came to acquire a special significance through the influence of the German historicist philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey who attempt to "free the historical sciences from the domination of the epistemological assumptions of positivistic natural

science" (Stocking, Jr. 1968 : 152). (*See* also, Harris 1968 : 268-269.)

The phrase "apocalyptic self-image" or apocalyptic man" is used in this paper mean the existence of a belief in oneself as imbued with a mystical power to reveal or uncover truth. In the religious traditions such a power is conceptualized as an attribute of the supernatural, but in the 20th century it is conceptualized as the natural attribute of man and often is represented as empathy.

According to Forge (1967 : 221) there is in British social anthropology a belief that modern anthropological fieldwork was invented by Malinowski in May 1915 at Omarakana in the Trobriand Islands. "The two principal contributions were, first, the tent which enabled Malinowski to live actually in the village instead of visiting it after breakfast in the mission house, the accepted style of anthropological investigation until then. Secondly, and linked with the tent was the use of the local language..." Wax (1972: 12) finds evidence in Malinowski's diary (1967) that in spite of the fact that the latter was more of an observer than a participant and did not gain deep understanding of the Trobrianders, his "experiences led to the discovery of intensive participant-observation."

Geertz (1967 : 11), reviewing Malinowski's diary among other things, has this to say :

> Indeed, for a discipline which regards itself as nothing if not broad-minded, it is most unpleasant to discover that its archtypical fieldworker, rather than being a man of catholic sympathies and deep generosity, a man whose Oceanist contemporary R. R. Marett thought could find his way into the heart of the shyest savage, was instead *a crabbed, self-preoccupied, hypochondriacal narcissist, whose fellow feeling for the people lived with was limited in the extreme.*
>
> An iconoclast all his life, Malinowski has, in this gross, tiresome, posthumous work, destroyed one final idol, and one he himself did much to create : that of the field-worker with extraordinary *empathy* for the natives. (Italics mine.)

Perhaps we should take note of Firth's advice stated in his introduction to Malinowski's diary (1967 : xix). He challenges "anyone who wishes to sneer at passages in this diary to be first equally frank in his own thoughts and writings, and then judge them." And as Stocking, Jr. (1974 : 286) notes, "One virtue of Malinowski's diary is that it suggests, in terms of the specific psychological dynamism of a rather unique individual, something of the process by which which the modern anthropological viewpoint was achieved." Forge's (1967 : 222-223) review of the diary includes the following remarks :

> Whether Malinowski used nigger or not is really irrelevant, since these diaries are not about the Trobriand islanders and what Malinowski thought of them nor even about Malinowski. They are a partial struggle that affects every anthropologist in the field : a struggle to retain a sense of his own identity as an idividual and as a member of a culture.

Thus the question is not whether Malinowski had sufficient or insufficient empathy but whether the representation of what actually occurs between the anthropologist and his subjects or objects of study is in fact what it is to be an anthropologist. It is possibe to empathize with Malinowski, and this is precisely the point I wish to make : empathy is a projective system of the intellectual, and the fieldwork situation serves the function of providing experiential affirmation of being an anthropologist ; the concept of empathy does not reflect or explain the social reality of data collection, but, as an ideology, validates an apocalyptic self-image.

The turmoil over the relevance of anthropology today can be interpreted as a reflection of the crisis over the apocalyptic self-image. The ideology of empathy dominates anthropological fieldwork but the social realities of modern day world do not facilitate or permit for the experiential affirmation and validation of the apocalyptic self-image. Whole cultures are no longer existentially rooted in the psyche of particular anthropologists ; there are native spokesmen, and the societies which were once identity symbols of particular anthropologists,

are studied today by several native or alien anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists.

Orientations such as "authentic anthropology," "reflexive anthropology," and "relevant anthropology" can be explained as reactions to the lack of eperiental affirmation validation of the apocalyptic self-image ; these perspectives in anthropology essentially attempt to reinforce the belief in the moral authority of empathy, and, thereby, the apocalyptic self-image of the anthropologist. Rather than striving to make the self-image congruent with the social conditions of today's fieldwork, the proponents of change strive to strengthen the ideology of empathy. The efforts at "reinventing" anthropology can be viewed as a Western revitalization movement of the revivalistic or natvistic kind.

The Sociology of Anthropological Fieldwork

Monographs and books such as Berreman's *Behind Many Masks* (1962), Powdermaker's *Stranger and Friend : The Way of an Anthropologist* (1966), Golde's *Women in Fieldwork : Anthropological Experiences* (1970), Frielich's *Marginal Natives : Anthropologists at work* (1970) and Spindler's *Being an Anthropologist : Fieldwork in Eleven Cultures* (1970) make clear the existence of a sociological dimension in anthropological fieldwork, and although some are primarily experiential accounts we understand a good deal about the kinds of social interaction that shape the perception of the anthropologist and his access to information. There are also a number of papers and books that discuss the sociological and ethical issues of fieldwork (*see*, for example, Becker and Greer 1957 ; Buechler 1969 ; Dean and Whyte 1958 : Gold 1958 ; Hollander 1967 ; Jarvie 1967 ; Junker 1969 ; Kloos 1969 ; Lohman 1937 ; Nash 1963 ; Trow 1957 ; and Vidich 1955). A few who studied their own society (Srinivas 1960 : 4-5 ; 1967 : 147-163 ; Brunt 1974 : 311-314) have discussed factors such as objectivity and social involvement, and Powdermaker (1966), whose book is essentially a personal account of experiences in different field situations, makes references to the dilemna of her personal

values conflicting with the necessity for anthropological detachment in the study of her own (American) society.

The point I would like to emphasize, however, is that there are factors external to the individual anthropologist which enable the anthropologist to function as such in the context of fieldwork and which determine his success or lack of success in data those who study their own societies are influenced by the same factors, it is necessary to explore the factors which facilitate or do not facilitate data collection rather than subsume fieldwork under categories such as imperalism or colonialism.

Collecting information about and from people involves a dominance-subordinance relationship. This relationship enabled colonial masters from Roman times to collect information, and some of these documents are valued ethnographies. Students studying Taiwan have the descriptive accounts of the Taiwanese compiled by Japanese rulers (Freedman 1963), and those who study India have hundreds of volumes of descriptions and statistics of the people of India by British administrators and missionaries. Many of the theories of modern Indian social anthropology are carryovers of the administrator-missionary tradition.

The same kind of dominance-subordinance status relationship prevails in anthropological fieldwork between the studier and the studied. Either the studier is perceived as a symbol of prestige and power and the people welcome his presence or he is tolerated because of the fact that some powerful agency backs him (*see* Jacob-Pandian 1974 ; 1975 ; Brunt 1974 : 314). As Beals (1969 : 37) points out, "Often the people being studied perceive the researcher as a person of wealth, power and influence, and he is appealed to for help in solving local problems." Furthermore, unless there is any tangible benefit (like, for example, Malinowski's distributing tobacco), those who keep the company of anthropologists are either paid worker or maladjusted individuals. Dubois (1944 : 191) notes : "I am under the impression that inability to secure autobiographical material from the successful type individuals of a culture is an

experience many ethnographers have had in functioning societies." Hughes (1974 : 332) points out :

> We are still studying people who are relatively deprived. We still keep, in practice, to the idea that there are those with a mandate to study, and those with the fate of being studied whether to be preserved, as were the aborigines, or to be enlightened or rehabilitated.

Laura Nader (1969 : 289) in her stimulating essay, ."Up the Anthropologist-Perspectives From Studying Up," asks correctly :

> Anthropologists might indeed ask themselves whether the entirety of fieldwork does not depend upon a certain power relationship in favour of the anthropologist, and whether indeed such dominant-sub-ordinate relationships may not be affecting the kinds of theories we are weaving.

Social scientists are not faceless mirrors on which the social reality of the group they study is reflected for documentation ; neither are they invisible. Often they function in the field in a manner which fosters the emergence of a new reality for the group studied, and what it is recorded may, in fact, be a reality that evolved in the context of fieldwork. As Golde (1670 : 3) points out, "Facts about observer-observed interaction have relevance not only for fieldwork methods, but...for theories of cultural dynamics as well." And there is "a growing recognition of the value and importance of considering social science research as the process and product of interaction between the questioner and questioned and of the need to subject this process to scrutiny."

Perceptions in the field are often from specific vantage points and are from the perspective of an individual or status within the society studied. Many have reported how their association with a particular person or a segment of the society blocked their access to information from others. This aspect of fieldwork is in one's own society or an alien society (*see*, for example, Beteille (1965 : 9-10) who studied his own society and Berreman (1962) who studied an alien society).

Personality characteristics of the anthropologist, his beliefs and convictions concerning social responsibility and the ethics of fieldwork, and his theoretical predilections might color what is perceived to be real and also might cause differential approaches, generating different kinds of responses from the people studied. Schwartz and Schwartz (1955 : 352) note: "The particular patterns of interpersonal dynamisms with which the observer operates will shape what he sees and how he sees human interaction. The observer may have some long-standing emotional blocks which prevent him from seeing certain aspects of reality."

However, from the point of view of the sociology of fieldwork, factors need examination, such as age, sex and ethnicity and their meaning in the culture studed, and also factors such as education, wealth and political power which are interpreted by the anthropologist and the people studied. These factors facilitate fieldwork whether the fieldwork is undertaken in one's own society or in an alien society. In other words, in sociology of fieldwork, it is the status position of the studier and its consequences that come under scrutiny. The status position of the studier whether he studies his own or an alien society is one of dominance.

The most common argument against the study of one's own society is that a person is so emotionally tied up with the symbols of his culture that he cannot obejectively and faithfully report on the patterns of his culture as he could when studying an alien culture (*see*, for example, Kroeber 1941 : 307; Levi-Strauss in Charbonnier 1969 : 13). But the anthropologist has a different social status than the people studied even when the people are from his own society : he studies the peasants or the tribal enclaves, and even when he is from a peasant or a tribal unit, by virtue of his having had higher education, usually in the West, he is perceived by his people as having a high status and this perception helps him to have access to information. Furthermore, he is likely to be either extremely critical of his people's ways or extremely self-conscious of his heritage he plans to study. The problem of objectivity, as we

have discussed earlier, confronts both the native and the alien anthropologist. As Srinivas, who did fieldwork in his own society, notes :

> The sociologist who is engaged in the study of his own socity is likely to be influenced by his social position, not only in his observations but in the problems he selects for study. But this need not always be a source of error...it might even be a source of insight. Insights, however, have to be subjected to rigorous testing before they can become valid generalizations. The moral, then, is that an idea is not necessarily wrong because its originator occupies a particular position in the society. Its validity or invalidity has to be independently establised.
>
> (Srinivas 1967 : 157)

Fieldwork in an alien society is a historical accident rather than a disciplinary necessity. Anthropologists did not frown upon studying one's own society, as attested to by Malinowski's introduction to Fei Hsiao-tung's *Peasant Life in China* (1939) and by Radcliffe-Brown's support of Srinivas whose book *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India* (1952) became a classic in Indian social anthropology. And Powdermaker (1966), who studied a segment of American society in the 30's, had the support of Edward Spair. Of course, it can be said that non-Western anthropologists trained in Western or non Western universities usually undertake fieldwork in their own society and that the label "anthropologists" is given to them by virtue of their having studied a non-Western society.

The Psychology of Anthropological Fieldwork

Anthropological preoccupation with fieldwork in alien societies maks sense if we examine the psychology of anthropological fieldwork, i.e., in terms of what fieldwork does to the identity and the self-image of the anthropologist. The vision of the world from another culture's perspective which the anthropologist achieves in the context of fieldwork is largely a vision of himself as an apcalyptic man. Fuguratively and literally, the symbol of fieldwork evokes deep emotion in the

psyche of the anthropologist. It was in the fieldwork situation that culture revealed or unfolded itself to him ; culture was elusive in his own society. Like a shaman's existential encounter with the supernatural, the anthropologist has an existential encounter with culture.

To both Malinowski and Boas, who contributed to the development of the modern conception of fieldwork, culture had great personal, psychological relevance and significance. Both despaired over their national-racial-cultural identity, living as alienated expatriates in England and in the United States, respectively ; to both men fieldwork was an experiential affirmation and validation of the self as apocalyptic.

An existential discovery of culture was seldom a part of British anthropology: incorporating a positivist/empiricist tradition, the British anthropologist, with the exception of Malinowski (who was from continental Europe), rarely discussed psychological processes and used the concept of social structure rather than the concept of culture. It is a significant fact that experiential, personalized accounts of being an anthropologist or of engaging in fieldwork have largely been part of American anthropology where the concept of culture has been in vogue.

It is reasonable to state that the psychology of anthropological fieldwork is tied up with the discovery of culture ; in the context of fieldwork, culture becomes a psychological reality. Awarness of culture is tantamount to the self's realization of a quest for personal identity.

The roots of a concept of culture which has personal meaning and significance are in continental Europe of the 19th century, particularly in Germany, where strong antirationalist and anti-natural science sentiments prevailed. To the German intellectuals who despaired over the lack of a national-racial identity, an awareness of culture was a kind of nativism and revitalization of the self. (*See* Wolf 1964 : 16-19 ; Berlin 1963 : 44-61.) This awareness had a great personal relevance and significance to the extent that a subjective or experiential

understanding of culture was similar to an intuitive knowledge of the divine being.

The German intellectual tradition became part of American anthropology largely through the influence of Boas, and orientations such as "culture and personality" and "psychological anthropology" came into being. Freud, who was part of the German scholarship, influenced American anthropology because there already existed in American anthropology a German bias toward the intepreration of culture.

The view of fieldwork as an initiation rite has been stated so many time that it needs no restatement here. What needs stressing is that in such a view fieldwork is a dimension of anthropological experience conveyed to an audience receptive to an exploration of the psychological dimension of man. Anthropology (in such a view) continues as a discipline because it chronicles the uniqueness of the experience, not bacause it is an objective description of man gathered by teams of people from different nations.

From the point of view of the psychology of anthropological fieldwork, there can be a difference between studying one's own society and studying an alien society. If in studying an alien society one strives for self-conscious personal meaning of culture, the study incorporates a phenomenological epistetemology. It may be pointed out that just as the personalized concept of culture developed in Germany, the phenonmenological orientation also developed there.

Bruyn, whose book *The Human Perspective in Sociology : The Methodology of Participant Observation* is a definitive study of the relationship between phenomenology and fieldwork through participant observation, states that, "The phenomenologist and the participant observer both stress the importance of intuitive apprehension of human meanings which reveal themselves in the consciousness of the observer" (Bruyn 1966 : 279). The anthropologist reveal the essence of humanity through what is personally meaningful to him in the discovery of culture ; in studying one's own society or in repeating research in a society which has already been

studied by someone else he foregoes the image of being apocalyptic.

Conclusion

New Discipline or New Self-Image

A discipline like anthropology which has both scientific and humanistic roots and which often substitutes religious world views cannot ignore the personal relevance it has to its practitioners. On the one hand it is necessary to examine the sociology of anthropological fieldwork in order to understand the factors that facilitate data collection, ond on the other hand it is essential to analyze the psychology of anthropological fieldwork in order to understand what motivates people to become anthropologists. In the former, there exists a dominant-subordinate relationship between the studier and the studied ; in the latter, there exists ideological justification such as empathy that are unique to particular nations or cultures. What motivates a Chinese or a Hindu to become an anthropologist may be quite different from what motivates the Westerner ; likewise, a black or a Chicano may derive an entirely different meaning from being an anthropologist than an upper class Jewish anthropologist from New York.

The often quoted remark that "anthropology is what anthropologists do" points to the fact that it is the self image rather than a delineated subject-matter which renders a study anthropological. The self-image of what it means to be an anthropologist is derived from a cultural experience of growing up in a particular society and is therefore bound spatially and temporally. Thus, in our reinventing or rediscovering anthropology, we primarily engage in exploring the anthropologist's self-image.

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SONGS OF THE GODDESS SHITALA RELIGIO-CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC FEATURES

By

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Abstract : This paper presents a translation and analysis of the content and from of the songs sung to Shitala, the smallpox deity, in Nagpur District in the region of Maharashtra. In the first section the religious and cultural functions of the songs are discussed and an attempt is made to show how they reflect their social background. In the second section a linguistic analysis is presented, which concluded that these songs reveal parallelism, or coupling, a feature uncommon to Marathi folk poerty, and shows a close similarity of language to that of colloquial speech.

SHITALA, known as Mata-May (Mata : 'Smallpox' and May : 'mother, thus, the mother or goddess of smallpox) in the district of Nagpur and as devi in other parts of Maharashtra, is considered the most fearsome goddess in the Hindu pantheon. Mythology desctibes her as a red-garbed goddess, having a winnowing fan as an umbrella and holding a swing in one hand a broom in the other[1]. She rides around the countryside on a donkey in search of victims, scourging with stinging reeds those whom she finds. "Her beatings cause the victim's skin to erupt in festering, angry pustles, their bodies to burn as if on fire."[2] The disease smallpox is believed to be brought on by Mata-May's anger, which is aroused if one neglects to offer her the usual oblations. In

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order to propitiate her, songs or hymns are sung in her honour which are called Mata-Mayci gani.

On a recent visit to Maharashtra, I had the opportunity of collecting these songs in Neri, a small village (pop. 4,000) located in Nagpur District, 14 miles from Nagpur. In Neri there are two temples of Mata-May, one situated in the center of the village for its dominate castes: Maratha, Kunabi (agricultural workers), Teli (oil pressers), and Gowari (cowherders) and other on the outskirts of the village for the untouchable castes Mahars and Mangs. The untouchables are not allowed to visit the central temple. In this paper I have presented a translation of several of the Marathi songs sung by the dominant castes at the Mata-May temple and in their homes. Included is an analysis of their religious and cultural features in section one, and an analysis of their linguistic features in section two.

Religio-cultural Feature

Mata-May's songs are sung only by women in this village. When a person is stricken by small-pox, married women whose husbands are alive (suwasinis) gather every morning and evening at the patient's house. They fill their vessels with water and Nim branches, and set out in a group to Mata-May's songs. One of them carries the arati (the puja platter containing a burning wick, kumkum, turmeric powder, flowers, incense sticks, etc.) and leads the way. After arriving at the temple the women first pour the water over the image and then the arati carrier worships the goddess. While the worship continues the vessel-holders walk around the temple singing songs in praise of the small-pox deity. The recitation of songs in Mata-May's honor, and the act of pouring water over her image, are both believed to be remedies for fever[3]. The holy water and ashes dedicated to the goddess are brought home from the temple; and the patient drinks the water, and the ashes are applied to his forehead. This routine of worship is followed everyday as long as the signs of the disease are visible in the patient.

Mata-May's songs are also sung by the patient's mother when she swings her sick child or sits by his bed-side. Summer are extremely hot in Nagpur district and the small-pox epidemic generally erupts in the hot season ; so a swinging cot is used for the patient's bed with branches of Nim leaves suspended around it. In order to keep the patient cool and comfortable the same leaves are used to fan the patient. Mata-May is said to live on cold food and to be very fond of things which have a cooling effect, such as curds, milk, sugar, fruit, etc.[4] The same things are given to the patient as food. The patient is not allowed to bathe until he is completely free from all traces of the disease. A bath is then given on Tuesday or Friday following the cure.

These songs are sung also on the occasion of a major puja which is offered to Mata on an auspicious day after the patient's recovery. On this occasion the songs are accompanied by musical instruments such as drums, cymbals, etc., which are played by a group of men. As on other occasions, however, the songs are sung only by women. On this day the patient is taken to the temple to bow down before the goddess. The goddess is again worshipped for the last time by a group of suwasinis with kumkum, turmeric powder, flowers, coconuts, etc. An offering of grain, coconuts, ghi, curds and milk is made to the goddess. A child is weighed against sugar ; that quantity of sugar is first dedicated to the goddess and then distributed among the poor. Some of the vows made in Mata-May's name, usually by the patient's mother, are fulfilled at this time. Different things are dedicated to the goddess which vary according to the parts of the body affected by the disease. For example, silver models of the human eye are dedicated when the disease affects the eyes ; salt if there is an itching, a black earthen vessel full of curds in case of morbid heat.[5] On the day of the final puja a large feast is given to the people of the village to express thanksgiving towords Mata-May for the child's recovery. To recapitulate, Mata-May's songs are sung on three different occasions, serving specific purpose. First of all they function as prayers during the period of a child's sickness and are sung by the women while going to

Mata-May's temple to pour water on Mata-May's image and while returning to the home of the patient with the holy water and ashes. As the small-pox patient very often receives no medical help, Mata-May's puja, her holy water, ashes and prayers are the only remedies adopted, and are all directed towards the propitiation of Mata-May. Secondly, Mata-May's songs seem to serve two functions when sung by the patient's mother at his bedside, one as a means of entertainment for the patient and the other as an outlet for the tension and worries of the patient's mother. Thirdly, they serve as an act of thanksgiving when sung during Mata-May's final puja.

The focus of these is devotion to Shitala, or Mata-May. The songs reflect the religious attitude of the worshippers towards the deity, the practices they follow, their beliefs, vows, the helplessness of the mother of the sick child and her urgent appeal to the goddess. The style in which they are presented is simple, natural, and unsophisticated, all qualities characteristic of village speech. As these songs belong to peasant society, their imagery is naturally drawn from everyday life and experience.

The following couplets indicate that the songs are sung in the village of Neri but the drums have been brought from Nagpur, the largest city in the region. For weekly marketing women have to go to the neighbouring village, named Peth.

1. Oh carpenter of Neri village, fix iron bars and chains on the cradle,
   Your swing will be hung in the sky, Oh Mother Mata.
2. There are two Nagpuri drums for Mata's puja,
   (You) are the merchant of cymbals and drums,
   Oh Mother Mata.
3. Little Mata-May went to the Peth bazar
   Bayya* has bought kum-kum and turmeric, Oh Mother Mata.

For village folk, gods and goddesses are like people and are assumed to live a life very similar to that of a human being. The mother goddess is visualized by her devotees as a

*Bayya refers to small-pox deities. More explanation is found later.

child, a young woman, a bride, a mother and an old woman in the following couplets.

4. The little Mata-May walks delicately,
The tassel of your hair is swaying, Oh Mother Mata.

5. Mother Mata's courtyard is clean,
Bayya arranged her swayamwar* there, Oh Mother Mata.

6 In Mata's backyard turmeric has turned yellow,
Bayya has become a bride, Oh Mother Mata.

7. Old Mata-May, supports herself with a stick,
Bayya came to guard the child, Oh Mother Mata.

8. Mata has come resting and walking,
Asking for the house of a poor woman, Oh Mother Mata.

Mata-May is believed to have six sisters, one brother, and fourteen cousins, all of whom symbolize various diseases. The seven sisters symbolize seven different kinds of small-pox and their brother, Bhiwsan, symbolizes gowar, germ measles. Chicken-pox is thought of as their distant cousin.

9. Seven sisters, seven different sarees,
In the courtyard Brother Bhiwsans' trunks are open,
Oh Mother Mata.

10. The seven sisters have seven characteristics,
They have set out in mirrored carts, Oh Mother Mata.

11. Seven sisters, seven different sarees,
We will buy a silk dhoti for brother Bhiwsan,
Oh Mother Mata.

12. All the seven sisters have set out for a walk,
They will play near their brother's garden, Oh Mother Mata.

13. There is a line of carts ; one has a window,
The uncle's daughter sat in it, Oh Mother Mata.

14. There is a line of carts, one remained behind,
Bayya has stopped to see (someone), Oh Mother Mata.

All familial roles of women are attributed to Mata-May. She is conceived not only as mother but also as sister and daughter-in-law.

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*Swayamwar : the choosing of a husband

15. A carpet is spread on Mother Mata's porch,
Mother-in-law and daughter will choose their bangles,
Oh Mother Mata.
16. Mother delivered (her baby) on a wooden swing,
Jasmin flowers were brought for the curtain,
Oh Mother Mata.
17. I have prepared the arati, in it there is dal,
I will worship your baby, Oh Mother Mata.

Certain peculiarly feminine traits such as a linking for flowers, fine clothes and jewelry also apply to Mata-May.

18. Taking baskets in her hand Mother wanders for miles,
She has a great love for flowers, Oh Mother Mata.
19. For many miles my Mother wanders,
(She) has a great longing for flowers, Oh Mother Mata.
20. Seven sisters wander from field to field,
The carts are filled with flowers, Oh Mother Mata.
21. Who has made a path to Mother's garden ?
Your cart has gone for flowers, Oh Mother Mata.
22. Who has made a path to Mata's garden ?
Your carriage has gone for flowers, Oh Mother Mata.
23. Mother's disciples are both big and small,
They all went to pick flowers, Oh Mother Mata.
24. When she wears the yellow silk saree,
her body shows through,
She asks her brother its price, Oh Mother Mata.
25. Yellow silk saree with pearl border,
wear it, your brother has bought it, Oh Mother Mata.
26. Yellow silk saree bordered with pearls and gold,
Bayya wore it in the evening, Oh Mother Mata.
27. A serape is spread in Mata's shrine,
They wear colorful bangles, Oh Mother Mata,
28. The weaver's bungalow is behind the house of Mata,
Make a nice design, Oh Mother Mata.
29. The brothers weave behind Mata's house,
Little by little they have woven a saree, Oh Mother Mata.

Mata-May in a beautiful woman, with a slender, shapely figure, and long black hair. She carries water vessels and has a great liking for yellow sarees.

30. Yellow silk saree, with one hundred folds,
Your waist is slender, Oh Mother Mata.
31. When Mata washes her hair, she asks for a ladle of ghee,
My Bayya's hair is black, Oh Mother Mata.
32. When Mata washes her hair, she asks for a cup of ghee,
My Bayya's hair is long, Oh Mother Mata.
33. When Mata washes her hair, she asks for a bowl of ghee,
My Bayya's hair is long, Oh Mother Mata.
34. Mother has come from a distant country,
Bayya has curly hair, Oh Mother Mata.
35. Mata's house is on the bank of a river,
On a big pot she puts another pot, Oh Mother Mata.
36. Mata's house is rear the river,
On a big vessel she carries a bowl, Oh Mother Mata.
37. A turmeric vine grows in the gardener's field,
Bayya has made her saree yellow, Oh Mother Mata.
38. There are turmeric beds in Mata's backyards.
(Your) clothes are faded, Oh Mother Mata.
39. Turmeric has grown on every stalk in the gardener's field,
My Bai is yellow from head to feet, Oh Mother Mata.

Mata-May's brother, Bhiwsan, is depicted as a strong young man, performing the manly tasks of playing the drums, feeding the horse, driving a bullock-cart, and smoking ganja.

40. How did Mother Mata's porch crumble ?
Her brother, Bhiwsan sat on it, Oh Mother Mata.
41. Mother has come with bovine feet,
Her brother is beating a drum, Oh Mother Mata.
42. Grass has grown on Mother Mata's porch,
Her brother, Bhiwsan, has fed his horse (on it),
Oh Mother Mata.
43. Moss has grown in Mata's royal court,
Your brother, Bhiwsan, is grazing his white horse,
Oh Mother Mata.
44. Mata-May's tutari* is green,
Brother Bhiwsan is with her, Oh Mother Mata.

*Tutari—a stick used for beating bullocks.

45. Brother Bhiwsan is addicted to ganja,
He's wandering in the Itwari market, Oh Mother Mata.
46. Mata's brother says he is hungry,
What shall I give him ? Oh Mother Mata.

In contrast with the depiction of Mata-May as a common local woman, the following couplets clearly distinguish her role as a goddess, who is wealthy and powerful.

47. Mother's choker is made of gold,
You own the whole region, Oh Mother Mata.
48. Mother Mata's throne is made of gold.
You are the owner of the village of Pandhri.
Oh Mother Mata.
49. Mother Mata's rings are made of gold,
You own the village of Pandhri, Oh Mother Mata.
50. Mother Mata's dinner plate is made of gold,
Bayya took five bites, Oh Mother Mata.
51. Mother Mata's gangal* is made of gold,
Your bath is at dawn, Oh Mother Mata.
52. Mata's house is on Nim branches,
Your swinging cot is on an upper story, Oh Mother Mata.
53. Mata's house has nine doors and windows,
Your palanquins are in the sky, Oh Mother Mata.
54. Mata-May travels at midnight ;
The cement road is covered with silk, Oh Mother Mata.
55. There is no scarcity of milk and curds in Mata's shrine,
A milkman's house is near by, Oh Mother Mata.
56. There is no scarcity of milk and curds for Mata's puja,
A town of milkmen is near by, Oh Mother Mata.
57. In Mata's shrine there are kavadis** for curds and milk,
Milkmen from the town near by have come, Oh Mother Mata.
58. Curds and milk flow in Mata's shrine,
Milkmen from the town near by have come, Oh Mother Mata.
59. The weaver's house is behind Mother's place,
He has woven a silbati silk saree, Oh Mother Mata.
60. Figs are ripened at Mata's shrine,
Please send the message to Bayya, Oh Mother Mata.

*Gangal—a circular metal vessel with handles used for a bath.
**Kavadis—a device for carrying vessels of liquids.

61. Figs are hanging in Mata's courtyard,
On them the birds are gathered, Oh Mother Mata.
62. There is no room on the road for Mother's carts,
Giving up the carriage she walks on foot, Oh Mother Mata.
63. Mother Mata's carts have mode the road crowded,
The jhul * of bullocks have been torn, Oh Mother Mata.
64. Which road should I watch for Mother's carts ?
The bullocks have many ornaments on them,
Oh Mother Mata.
65. Mata bathes with five gangals (of water),
A stream flows towards the river, Oh Mother Mata.
66. Mata bathes, the water has gone into the woods,
Your trees are nourished, Oh Mother Mata.
67. Mata bathes, the water flowed to the mountain,
Your jasmin is nourished, Oh Mother Mata.
68. Mata bathes, the water has gone to the river,
Your jai** is nourished, Oh Mother Mata.
69. Mother Mata bathes, her water has reached the village line,
Your tulsi*** is nourished, Oh Mother Mata.
70. Mother Mata washes her hair with a ser of butter,
The water is all from Ganga, Oh Mother Mata.

Not only the Mother goddess but also the things that belong to her are praised.

71. There is a well under the steps of Mata's shrine,
In it the holy water is very sweet, Oh Mother Mata.
72. There is a bath under the steps of Mata's shrine,
In it the holy water is like milk, Oh Mother Mata.

Aside from descriptions of Mata-May's greatness, are statements of the devotee's humbleness, modesty, and limitations in the following couplets.

73. What is the fragrance in the royal court of Mata ?
The humble devotee is worshipping, Oh Mother Mata.
74. Mother Mata has come to a poor woman's house,
There is no oil for the lamp, Oh Bayya, please
stay up with me, Oh Mother Mata.

* Jhuli—cloth of rich brocade put on animals.

** Jai—a flower.

*** Tulsi—a Basil like shrub revered by the Hindus.

75. Which god shall I worship with seven lamps ?
I serve you, Oh Mother Mata.
76. The platter of seven oil lamps is heavy on my palm,
How can I climb the steps (of your temple), Oh Mother Mata.
77. The platter of seven oil lamps is too heavy for my hands,
How can I climb your fort, Oh Mother Mata.
78. Mata-May's courtyard is not smooth,
(Oh friend), come slowly with your arati, Oh Mother Mata.
79. Mata-May has come ; so let her come, wash her feet on
a caurang,* Oh Mother Mata

Certain acts of the women such as combing their hair, or churning buttermilk, or indulging in sexual intercourse are believed to make Mata-May angry. Therefore the women of the house are prohibited from doing these things. A low-caste person may not cast his shadow on the patient. Women are not allowed to wear black clothing, as seen in the following song.

80. Mother has come from a distant country ;
She is Mother Sarja,
She rejects a black blouse, Oh Mother Mata.

The following songs describe certain general practices and rituals performed upon the outbreak of a small-pox epidemic. The swinging cot is decorated with Nim brances for the patient's bed. The women sing Mata-May's songs and go to Mata-May's temple to placate the small-pox deity. They bring holy water and perform Mata-May's puja with kumkum, turmerio, burning wicks, incense, and offer her curds and rice and gifts of cononuts, almonds, and dates.

81. Mata-May has come ; she has come in the summer,
Offer Mother Mata a seat on the swinging cot,
Oh Mother Mata.
82. Mata's cot is woven with flowers of Bakani** and Nim,
Bayya, devotees are singing your songs, Oh Mother Mata.
83. Mother Mata's carts are let loose near the tamarind tree
Bayya, devotees are singing your songs, Oh Mother Mata.

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*Caurang—a square stool.
**Bakani—a flower.

84. Mother Mata's carts have been let loose in the tamarind grove,
Her devotees (female) are singing, Oh Mother Mata.
85. Water vessels are crowded together,
The folds and border of Bayya's saree have become wet,
Oh Mother Mata.
86. Mother Mata's (temple) steps have become wet,
The women devotees have come for holy water,
Oh Mother Mata.
87. Mata's temple has very broad steps,
The vessels are filled with holy water, Oh Mother Mata.
88. I have prepared the arati ; what is in it ?
Both kumkum and turmeric are in it, Oh Mother Mata.
89. The village Maruti* desires vermilion
(You) wait for kumkum and turmeric, Oh Mother Mata.
90. Mother Mata wears kumkum and turmeric,
(She) dines on curd and rice, Oh Mother Mata.
91. There is no rice for Mata's offering,
Go to the paddy (growing) region, Oh Mother Mata.
92. I have prepared the arati ; in it charcoal is burning,
I have made the lamps eight sided, Oh Mother Mata.
93 In the shrine of Mother Mata ral** is burning,
A merchant has worshipped, Oh Mother Mata.
94. With fruit and coconut she filled her basket,
Bayya was going to the market, Oh Mother Mata.
95. Almonds are hung on Mata's cot,
Bayya, Satyabhama, is swinging, Oh Mother Mata.
96. Dried dates have been hung on Mata's cot,
Bayya, Dwarka is swinging, Oh Mother Mata.

The following supplications to the goddess of small-pox present a beautiful picture of an anxious mother begging Mata-May to save the life of her young one.

97. Mata is my mother ; I touch your feet,
The child is ignorant, Oh Mother Mata.
98. Mother's rattle is made of gold,
This child of yours is a baby, Oh Mother Mata,
Make him play, Oh Mother Mata.

*Maruti—a name of Hanuman.

**Ral– a resin like substance used in puja.

99. Mother Mata has come and is knocking on the door,
Oh Mother Mata, my child is sound asleep.

100. Mother's bracelet is made of gold,
Decorate (the child) sparsely, Oh Mother Mata.

101. Mother Mata has come with bovine feet,
Please come to protect (my child), Oh Mother Mata.

102. Mother has come with the cattle,
Protect (my child) completely, Oh Mother Mata.

103. Mother has come to a poor woman's house,
The lamp is without oil and wick,
Protect (my child) in the dark, Oh Mother Mata.

104. Mata has come to a poor woman's house,
The bhakaris* are of bran and husk,
Please free (him) quickly, Oh Mother Mata.

105. Old Mata's hair has become (like) hemp,
Please free (him) quickly, Oh Mother Mata.

106. Seven oil lamps are brightly burning,
In order to hasten the cure, Oh Mother Mata.

107. Cow's urine ; a branch of a Nim tree,
Bayya, fan (my child) gently, Oh Mother Mata.

108. Mother Mata's house is under a Nim tree,
Please make the shade cool, Oh Mother Mata.

109. My basket is filled with coconut and fruit,
Please take these offerings, Oh Mother Mata.

110. My basket is filled with fruit and coconut,
Bayya, come to the Bazar with me, Oh Mother Mata.

The following songs express some of the vows the Mother takes during her child's sickness. One of the most important vows is the mother's carrying a burning stove on her head to the temple without holding it.

111. With my hands tied I will carry a burning hearth on my head,
I will come to see you, Oh Mother Mata.

112. Hands chained ; burning hearth on my head,
I will go to Bayya's town, Oh Mother Mata.

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*Bhakaris—flat bread.

113. (I promise you) sorghum cereal and ambadi* curry,
Please make (my) child well, Oh Mother Mata.

114. I will send the message to the village carpenter,
I will ask her to make a cord and cradle, Oh Mother Mata.

115. Where have the carpenters gone ?
For Bayya's puja a cord and cradle are not ready,
Oh Mother Mata.

116. Oh carpenters, fix these things quickly,
I am waiting for a cord and a cradle, Oh Mother Mata.

117. Oh son of dayak** player, play your dayak and dambaru,**
How many vows should I take, Oh Mother Mata.

118. Oh son of dayak player, your dayak is on your left thigh,
Sin to Mata May first, Oh Mother Mara.

119. Oh son of dayak player, look for your dayak,
Because of my child hand is busy, Oh Mother Mata.

120. Use a pot of curd for Mata's puja,
Top it with a bag of sugar, Oh Mother Mata

121. Who is giving a puja to Mother Mata ?
The king has promised a scarf for her flag, Oh Mother Mata.

122. I have prepared the arati ; in it there is ral,
I will always worship your child, Oh Mother Mata.

123. I have made the arati ; in it there are wheat grains,
I will always worship your brothers, Oh Mother Mata.

It is popular belief that one must speak only of Mata-May's good qualities or else she will be extremely displeased. In order to describe her less attractive, negative aspects, in particular the symptoms of small pox, symbolism is used ; thus the deity has no cause to be offended. In the following couplets, pearls symbolize the actual form of small-pox, and Mata-May's swinging cot in every house symbolize the spreading of the epidemic. The word *bayya* generally refer to the small-pox deity but occasionally it symbolizes the patient and points to the belief that the body of the diseased person has been entered by the deity.

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*Ambadi—a vegetable.

**Dayak, dambaru—different kinds of drums.

124. Mother has come ; she has come from the forest,
She throws pearls from the cart, Oh Mother Mata.

125. Mother has come from another region,
She throws pearls from the sugar cane garden,
Oh Mother Mata.

126. There is a line of water vessels, we will fill five of them,
Bayya, there is a big pile of pearls, Oh Mother Mata.

127. Mother travels at midnight,
In every house Mata's cots are swinging,
Oh Mother Mata.

128. The legs of Mata's swinging cot are of Nim and Bakani,
Bayya puts her legs (on it) gently, Oh Mother Mata.

The following couplets reflect a social situation. They show that the Mata's house is like any other house in the village, having a tile roof as opposed to tin, that is in need of repair and that there is a caste of roof repairers. It also indicates that there is a river, with a temple to Bhiwsan on the other side of it.

129. Mata's house has been blown away by the winds,
A Bari* has repeaired it, Oh Mother Mata.

130. Mata's house has blown away in a storm,
Bayya, it has been repaired thoroughly, Oh Mother Mata.

131. Mother's bath streams slowly,
There bathes the foreign baby, Oh Mother Mata.

132. Mother is on this side, Bhiwsan is on the other,
Ganga flows in between, Oh Mother Mata.

Although many of these songs can be analyzed for their cultural contents as they describe everyday secular activities, they can in general be categorized as religious songs as they depict the relationship and attitude of the worshipper towards the small-pox deity and rituals performed in her honor. As already pointed out, the village people's view of the deity in general has strong anthropomorphic overtones, and many beliefs and practices associated with Mata-May as well as other deities receive their inspiration from everyday life. In conclu-

*Bari—a caste of roof repairers.

sion, we can say that these songs, although devotional in nature, have their roots in the practical life of of the villagers.

Linguistic Features

In this section I have attempted to analyze the linguistic features of the songs. The language of the songs does not seem to differ significantly from the dialect that women use for everyday communication. It presents some special features, however, which are probably due to the fact that it is a language of poetry.

These songs are short, generally consisting of three lines of which the third is for the most part a repetition of the second. Only occasionally does the third line differ from the second. The change, however, is insignificant, and generally, only involves a replacement of one of two elements in the second line by other elements of the same size, i.e. having the same number of syllables. In other cases, there is a mere recording of the elements of the second line.

4. lehansi matamaye thunuke thunuk cale,
tujha doica gonda hale we mata may.
tuha ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

5. mata ma mayeyece we angene pandheyere
teth^{э} seyere mandele we mata may
beyya ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

In the first example tujha has been replaced by *tuha*. In the second example *tethe* has been substituted by *beyya*. The following example shows a reordering of the elements.

18. hati supeli topeyeli, beyya hindete kose kose,
motha phullaca ahe sose we mata may.
ahe phullaca motha sose we mata may

Sometimes an elliptical phrase or a word is added. For example :

10. satejhenlhi beyhenai satai rengaca,
gadya jutelya bhingaca we mata may
bandhu ma bhiwsenane, gadya jutelya bhingaca,
we mata may.

Sometimes just the opposite phenomenon occurs. What seems to be an elliptical phrase in the second line gets dropped in the third line. For example.

121. mataimayci punja detei kone bhela,
beyya sawai hate sela, raja nisane kabulela we mata may.
raja nisane kabulela we mata may.

In spite of all the changes mentioned above, great care is taken to maintain the same rhythmic pattern. The repetition of the second line seems to serve the purpose of intensifying the appeal a devotee makes to Mata. Thus, the songs are in the form of triplets, or couplets if the repeated line is excluded, made up of two (or three) sentences. The compact nature of these songs make them easy to memorize ; indeed these songs have been handed down from generation to generation and are used whenever the need arises. Therefore, both the repitition and brevity constitute a mnemonic device for the singers.

All these songs are sung to one particular tune and style. Each one of them seems to have the same melody. These songs have for generations been remembered by the melody to which they are sung. The lines of these songs generally seem to contain 14 syllables each. However, the definitely do not follow any strict and complicated metric laws. Quite often several syllables, ranging from 14 to 18 are crowded into a line, just so long as musical ictus is satisfied. See the following examples ;

48. mata ma mayeyece sonyace siwwasene (14 syllables)
gawe pandheri mokasine we mata may (14 syllables)
5. patyaca parenyawere mata balaitine jhali (17 syllables)
jai pededyasathi neli we majhe mata may (16 syllables)

The phrase *majhe mata may* or *mata may* is used to invoke the goddess. But the syllables *ma*, *i* (such as in 48) and *we* in every couplet) are used to add to the singer's enthusiasm and to lead other singers. However, the most important literary and linguistic function they serve are the maintenance of the rhythm and the completion of the meter.

Parallelism or coupling seems to play an important role in these songs. According to Samuel R. Levin, who proposed

the concept of coupling as crucial to poetic language,[6] "coupling occurs when there are two convergences of semantic elements with positional elements in passage of poetry."[7] In other words, coupling occurs when the elements in poetry are linguistically parallel. They should have the same phonic and syntactic structure and/or have the same or similar meaning. Thus, coupling is of two types : (1) syntactic and (2) semantic. Both types of coupling occur in the following lines :

39. mataimaye nhate tupale mange jambə,
mahya beyyaci doi lambe, we mata may.
40. mataimaye nhate tupale mange wati,
mahya beyyaci doi mothi we mata may.

The first line of 39 is coupled with the first line of 40. The first line in both the couplets, 39 and 40, indicates a conclusion or a statement and the second line the cause. The elements of of 39 and 40 parallel. The occur in equivalent syntagmatic positions and have almost the same meaning. Another example is :

9. satejhenihi beyhenai sata rengace pateyere
bandhui bhiwsennle gheu resemi dhoteyera,
we mata may.
11. satejhenihi beyhenai sata rengace lugeyede
bendhu ya bhiwsenace dari senduke ugheyede we mata may.

Notice that the words *pateyere* and *lugeyede* have the same meaning. The parallelism occurs between two couplets and not within a single couplet or a stanza as found in the poetry of Mundari and other languages.[8] The major function of such couplings is to unify the songs. This unity is due to the various kinds of equivalence. Another function of the coupling principle is to make the song easy to memorize. It also helps to maintain the lexical diversity and breaks the monotony which otherwise would be inevitable because of the lack of variance in vocabulary.

These types of couplings have resulted in the borrowings of some words from standard Marathi, Hindi, Urdu and other dialects. For example, *mahya* is coupled with standard *Marathi majha*, *derbar* is coupled with Urdu *derga*.

Some phonological and morphological changes :

(1) Variation between l and r and d

piwele	'yellow'	→	piwre		
bal	'child'	→	bar	→	bad
talhat	'palm'	→	tarhat		

(2) Variation between n and n

yenejane	'coming and going'	→	yenejane
lene	'decoration, wearing'	→	lene
kone	'who'	→	kone

These variations cannot be predicted on the phonological level. They should be considered as a low level phonetic rule.

(3) Optional *i* epenthesis rule : This rule is unique to these songs. Its function is to complete the meter and keep up the the rhythm. It creates changes in lexical items.

nimbanarelane	'coconut and fruit'	→	nimbainarelane
bajar	'market'	→	bajairale
date	'gives'	→	detei kone

For the completion of meter and rhythm y and e are occasionally inserted. None of these phenomena are predictable on the basis of a phonological rule.

(4) Aspiration : Three processes can come under this category :

(i) Switch of aspiration to the next syllable ; (ii) Added aspiration and (iii) Deaspiration.

Examples are :

Switch of aspiration :

mhetari	'old woman'	→	methari
dehyala	'to curds'	→	deyhala

Additional aspiration :

jeni	'women'	→	jheni

Deaspiration :

Sakhar	'sugar'	→	saker
bendhu	'brother'	→	bendu
pandhen	'alley'	→	pandan

(5) Metathesis

telep	'habbit'	→	telpe

(6) Dropping of h

behu	'very'	→	beu
pahu	'will see'	→	pau

Morphological Processes

A few morphological processes are found. They are : (1) copula deletion : A Present tense form of the coupla *is* is deleted at the requirement of the rhythm. Examples are : (1) khele bandhuca bagapasi 'the game near the garden' is derived from *ahe* khele bəndhuca bagapasi 'the game is near the garden'.

(2) bai mahi piweri rekheboti 'my Bai yellow' is derived from bai ahe mahi piweri nekheboti 'my Bai is yellow.'

(2) the distinction between the personal ending *to* (mas. sg. pres.) and *te* (fem. sg. pres.) is sometimes confused. For example *te* is used for a man and *to* for a woman. (1) thus, yəda bhegtee punja *dete* 'a humbe male devotee offers a puja' (2) mata we majhe maye dhereto tujhe paye 'Mother Mata I (fem.) touch your feet.

Thus we have noted the occurrence of a few phonogical and morphological processes. However, the phonological processes are low level phonetic rules and the morphological processes seem to be sporadic or minor in nature. In general, the language of the songs does not deviate from the normal colloquil dialect of the village women.

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THE CULTURAL RELATIONS OF AN OCCUPATION: A DHOBI CASE

By

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Abstract : This paper demonstrates how a particular occupation is bound up with particular way of life. The group chosen is the sub-caste of 'Sheheri' dhobis residing mainly in the walled city of old Delhi. The sub-caste identity and distinctiveness is linked to such features as the economic cooperation, endogamy and panchayat organisation. Their household organisation, certain beliefs and values are all shown to be interrelated with their work pattern.

AS a part of a study of economic change amongst a group of dhobis in Delhi, data on the ethnographic background to the research problem were collected. A portion of this material is presented here as a sub-cultural account, since a review of the existing literature did not yield substantive material on a dhobi community. Reference to castes, who identify themselves with the occupation of washing clothes (i.e. dhobis) are found in village studies and in other analyses which are caste based. A few important works of the above kind, where information is provided about the dhobis are— Srinivas (1954), Katial (1964), Bailey (1957), Russell and Hiralal (1916), Mathur (1964). None of them however yield an insight into the way of life that is bound up with this particular occupation.

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The group of dhobis under study are called the "Sheheri" dhobis—a name derived from their long settlement in the city (Sheher-city) of old Delhi. The dhobis are divided into several endogamus sub-castes which are generally geographically localised. Each of these sub-castes pursue the occupation of washing clothes. Due to cultural differences, they maintain social distance from each other, inspite of their common caste and occupation.

This particular sub-caste is distinguished from the others by the fact of their residence in this area from even before the time of 'gadar' (war of Independence against the British) which took place in 1857.

The census of India does not give any enumeration of the dhobis as a separate caste group—subsuming them under general category of scheduled castes.

The Sheheri dhobis identify themselves as 'Kanaujia' (as the name suggests it links them to the famous kingdom of 'Kanauj') but are identified as 'Sheheria' by the other dhobis. Similarly, the other dhobi sub-castes are identified as 'campoo', (Purbia) etc. by the sheheris, each of whom again identifies itself with the 'Kanaujia' label.

The sheheris refer to other dhobi sub-castes in a derogatory fashion Likewise the other sub-castes of dhobis look down upon them. Social distance is maintained by the mutual feelings of superiority/inferiority between the sub-castes. The grounds for such feelings are credal but when asked to explain such attitudes, the different sub-castes refer to certain derogatory cultural features in the other group, such as the nomadism of the 'campoo' who move around whith the army camps and the rusticity of the 'purbia', who hail from the villages of east Uttar Pradesh.

Traditionally, the dhobis served as caste functionaries and they still have quasi-heriditory relationships with their clients. though the payment is in cash and as far as information 'goes, has been in cash for a long time. There are no symbiotic relationships with other caste groups as such. One particular

priest performs all the marriage rituals. The bhangi who comes to work in their neighbourhood is paid for his services in cash and given food at the time of marriages.

In the urban setting, ideas about commensality are not rigid or all inclusive, as witnessed in village studies, e.g. Mayer (1960), as they are a part of the atomistic urban life situation. Restrictions on commensality exists only in relation to 'chamars', 'bhangi's' 'Khatiks' and such low untouchables. Even now-a-days there is an aversion to washing clothes of 'chamar' or 'bhangi'.

Washing clothes is the primary means of livelihood. With the opportunities of free education available to them as a concession from the Government, and as a consequence of the impact of a growing market economy, in the midst of which they are placed, some of them are taking up work other than that of washing clothes. Young boys may be sent to do the work of cutting and binding papers. Those who have managed to save or acquire a little money have set up shops. Educated young boys, whose number is meagre, prefer to do salaried jobs. Among the elderly people there is a preference for being self-employed rather than being on a salaried job unless the latter offers tempting opportunities for money and security, such as a job in Government. However, due to the nature of socialization into the traditional work pattern and the household milieu, everyone is well conversant with the know-how of their traditional occupation.

The sub-caste identity and distinctiveness can be traced to such features as their Panchayat organization, endogamy and economic cooperation. The productive goods that they require in their work are, under present economic conditions, quite expensive to acquire and maintain. The maintenance of a bullock, for example, costs them ten rupees a day. A big earthen vessel, for washing clothes, costs two hundred rupees and it costs five to fifteen rupees in case of minor repairs.

These economic exigencies have forced the dhobis to develop a system of sharing of production goods. Thus, two or three individuals pool in for the purchase of a bullock or a

washing vessel and continue to pool for the maintenance and each has the right of user. Similarly, there is cooperation in watching over each other's clothes, when they are spread out to dry on the banks of the river and in keeping a watch over the furnace fire (bhatti) on which they steam the clothes. The informal cooperation is possible because of the close kinship and neighbourhood ties that bind the individuals together.

Neighbourhood ties are particularly important for economic cooperation because it facilitates communication and ensures easior availability of the objects to be shared. This dependence upon others is indicated by the fact that when a household moved residence to a new locality, it immediately invited another dhobi household to come and share the accommodation. Cheating and breach of trust is prevented by the controlling action of the caste panchayat.

The sub-caste panchayat regulates social conduct. The panchayat meets every month on New moon day and all adult members of the sub-caste are eligible for participation in the panchayat deliberations but generally the proceedings take the direction which is guided by the 'elders' who are supposed to possess 'superior knowledge'. It takes decisions on marriages, adoption and dissolution of engagements and on others disputes between members of the caste. Whenever a marriage is decided upon, information is given to the panchayat which then sets the date for the marriage. This is important because there is only one Brahmin to conduct marriages and there can be no overlapping in this respect.

Saving societies also function within the perview of the sub-caste. These operate on the basis that a number or individuals in the sub-caste promise to deposit a fixed sum of money every month till a fixed period, with a person who holds a prominent place in the sub-caste panchayat usually referred to as an 'elder'. Every month lots are drawn and the person in whose favour the lot appears gets the entire sum of money collected for the month. He is then aliminated for the next draw of lots, but continues to pay his monthly instalments. The number of individuals who deposit with one elder may be

about 25 to 50 and the sum of money deposited every month may be of the order of Rs 20/-, while the period for which the recurring deposits are made may be two to three years. There is pressure on the individuals to save in this manner derived from the sanction of the sub-caste group, for if he fails to give his monthly deposit, a fine may be levied on him and on continuous failure he may forfeit all his money already deposited. This system of saving ensures that the individual saves, if for nothing else but for such exigencies of life as purchase of bull or washing vessels or the marriage of a daughter. The saving is an insurance that the individual will not engage in distress sale of the means of his livelihood, which might be the first casualties when he has to go hungry. The compulsory system of saving is but one expression of the cooperation which protects the future of the individual, his household and group ; which survives by cooperation between its members and which in turn, is the ideological basis for cooperation between members of the sub-caste. This is expressed in the idiom that the men of the sub-caste are 'brothers' and every woman of the sub-caste is either a daughter -in-law or a daughter and is demonstrated through economic cooperation as already described.

The nature of the work involves a large amount of input of human energy. The technology is simple and the work load heavy so that the manpower required is more. The household is an important economic unit. The household is patrilineal and patrilocal and may consist of agnatically related males, their wives if any and their children. It is a consumption-production unit with a single hearth. The smallest social unit is a married couple. It is also the minimal economic unit because the work involves washing in water, which in winter is quite cold, and then hot ironing of clothes and it is not possible for one person to alternate between the two without falling sick. The general pattern is for the men to wash the clothes and the women to press them.

A couple often separate from the man's parents because they want liberty to spend the money that is left after the

household needs are fulfilled. Legitimately only the 'father' is entitled to utilise this surplus for the purpose of the household. Added to it is the fact that with increasing age the quantum of work put in by the 'father' becomes less and that put in by the sons is more; so that they feel a greater right on the money, as being a product of their own input. The sacrifice at seperation is for the son, in terms of seeking new clients, the father retaining rights over the old ones. The usual pattern is for each brother, along with his wife and children, to separate successively from his parents until the youngest brother is left to take care of the parents and whatever little property of the father there is, which includes his clients. There is seldom a formal division of property, of which there is very little in the first place.

Economic activities involve productive cooperation by members of the household. The women generally do the cooking, cleaning and general household work along with the pressing of clothes –and the men, including the boys do the outside jobs and the actual washing of clothes. Very young girls, right from the age of five or six start helping their mothers in the household chores, when they get a little older they help in pressing clothes and putting them to dry. Little boys run errands and carry clothes to and fro. They start adult work from around the age of sixteen.

The food is cooked twice a day, once in the morning and once in the evening (the dhobis are non-vegetarian). The work is expected to be voluntarily divided by the women members of the household though the mother-in-law may give directions. The division of the household chores may lead to disputes between the women members and consequently to its division. The hard work required admits of differences which are only enlarged by factors such as age. Most often, the division of the household simply involves the setting up of a separate kitchen, the members continue to live under the same roof. A son separating from the household is given only what he had received in his dowry and what his parents had given him at the time of marriage.

Most economic decisions regarding consumption and expenditure are taken by the men. (The bulk of the shopping including food stuffs and clothes is done by them.) In spending, there is much room for manoeuvre. A person who collects money from a client or from an employer may only declare a part of it and spend the undeclared amount for himself/herself. (What the woman earns by pressing clothes is not supposed to be hers—it is to be included in the household fund.)

The men do not keep any account of the money that they spend. Their general tendency is to spend whatever money they earn. The accent on thrift and saving is limited to the activity of the saving societies. Money may be borrowed from professional money-lenders of the trading castes in times of dire need.

The dhobi's work pattern has an important influence on his attitudes and life style. Due to the non-machine technology and large volume of work they have to put in lot of labour. They have no fixed time for their work. The work schedule is a function of the work load. The only holiday is the new moon day, the day when the panchayat meets. When the work load is heavy they have to get up and start working from about 4 A.M. or on nights they may not sleep at all and instead sleep the following day. There is no fixed time for food or rest. The dominance of work in their life leaves them with little time for recreation. At one time they entertained themselves with getting castrated bulls to fight and in getting drunk, but these have become costly entertainments.

The limited leisure time also makes for detached relationships with anybody outside of the economically cooperative kin or neighbours. Those engaged in the traditional occupation have few ties or friendship outside the sub-caste. Quarrels rarely occur amongst them and when one does occur, the subcaste panchayat decides them and they do not go up to the police or the courts.

Another important consequence that their work pattern has on their attitudes is that of preference towards adjustment and non-agression. As the informants themselves put it, their work on the bank of the river Jamuna and near to the ghats for the cremation of dead bodies, brings them in contact with ghosts and river snakes. Though they believe that the ghosts of those who die young often go about the river dancing at nights yet they do not fear them. Even snakes go away, if a dhobi with folded hands request them.

The 'sheheris' say that they are Hindus, however, other dhobi sub-castes quite often refer to the 'Muslim traits' in their subculture such as the fact that a man may marry his brother's wife's brother's daughter (BWBC). Once an attempt was made by this group to merge itself with another Dhobi sub-caste but, the attempt failed because the 'sheheria' dhobis did not accept the final condition that they accept 'prasad' from the brahmin priest after performing the 'Sat Narayan Katha'. It was argued that this would mean a greater expense on rituals by the 'sheheria' dhobis, which they could not afford. It might also have raised a future demand that they alienate themselves from the Muslim 'culture' and observe pollution taboos with Muslim neighbours which they were not prepared to do.

The group is tied up in its relations of marriage, geographical locale and economic cooperation and any movement away from this can only come if either of these factors changes. As it is, they show a marked scepticism towards the use of new technology. According to informants no washing machine can wash clothes as well as the dhobi can, using his traditional methods. Even the clients are said to prefer hand-washed clothes. The rising costs of renting urban residential accommodation and the necessity for close cooperation in the traditional occupation, contribute towards continuity but the occupational diversification and the urban networks that do not regard caste as important can lead to change.

On the changing scence even instances of violation of

sub-caste endogamy have been accepted. A dhobi married a christian girl. Later he asked to be taken back and was duly accepted into the group after purification by Ganges water. This demonstrates both the impetus to change and the forces that bind one to the sub-culture. Two marriages have occured between members of different sub-castes of washerman due to the affectivity in the relations between the guardians of the people who got married. These changes can probably be linked, ultimately, to the buldozing effects of urbanisation, economic development, and development of mass culture in India.

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OUT-GROUP, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF IN-GROUP

(an approach to study typologization of relationships)

By

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Abstract : The paper presents the conceptions of the various categories of outgroups, non-Mizos, among the Mizos of Mizoram. The social and cultural contexts of the term "Vai" has been explored in detail on the basis of depth interviews in the field.

THE social conception about the relationship between ingroup and outgroup is an intersting field of study. Ingroup in this paper is the Mizos of Mizoram and outgroup is the non-Mizos. Immediate outgroup is the people living in an immediate hinterland. Outgroup thus contains a large number of groups living in the immediate hinterland and those living beyond the immediate hinterland. In an earlier paper I have given a generalized picture regarding the societal and cultural ties between the tribes and non-tribes (Goswami 1972 : 271). In this paper, I will specifically deal about the conception of outgroup from the point of view of the Mizos (in-group) living in Mizoram, India. Though from Summer (1907) to Sinha (1969), most of the authors, have written about the "general universal notion of negatively stereotyped outgroup" (Sinha et al 1969 : 133), we shall discuss that how far this is true in the case under study. I have already stated about the structural features of the Mizos in some of my papers published earlier (1960, 1963, 1974) as such I shall not repeat those here in this paper. Singer (1972 : 393) has described a cultural historical case of the process of stylistic typologization of outsiders

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through the word *yavana* as used in Tamil language. Sinha et al (1969) have done so through the word *diku* as used among the tribes of Chotanagpur of Bihar.

Method

Usually it is held that the word *vai* is used for outsiders, i.e., the non-Mizos of India with a negative slant towards their culture, physical features etc. To study the meaning and concept of the word *vai* as used by the Mizos for the outsiders, a tour in Mizoram was undertaken in the month of February, 1973. The approach was to study its meaning spatially as well as on the historical scale. I collected information from two towns, namely Aizawl and Lunglei, and in between these two places I arbitrarily selected two villages situated on the road side. I then choose two points located on the fringe of Mizoram Union Territory, namely Champhai and Demagiri. All these places are connected by jeepable roads. Though I had been to Champhai in 1959 by walking, a distance of 80 miles approximately, before undertaking this project, I had no first hand information about the people of Demagiri.

In all these places I have contacted people belonging to different ethnic groups as well as educated and uneducated people from different age groups. My questions to them mainly related to the meaning of the word *vai* and the characteristics attached with this word. I also asked them about the views of the *vais* towards them, as they have noted it. I have also contacted the plainsmen and have asked them about their views on the Mizos. In the urban centre I have contacted the administrators, political leaders, retired Government servants, petty shop-keepers etc In the villages I have contacted the villagers and their elders. I have collected legends and folkstories to understand the meaning of the term in the time scale. I have also collected the place names, names of the insects, animals etc. In this matter, a dictionary by Pu Buanga in his dictionary gave fourteen meanings of the word *vai*. Out of fourteen, four are nouns, seven are verbs and three are adverbs. There are 117 words in which *vai* is used as prefix.

Then there are almost equivalent number of words where *vai* is used as suffix. I have gone through these words and have used them in understanding notions regarding outgroup. The term *vai* as noun has four different meanings. They are, parched rice, the husks of grains, a foreigner and a sandfly. We are concerned with the meaning of the word as used for non-tribal outgroup.

Current notions about the outgroup

It has been observed that spatially the word *vai*, as is understood by the people living in Mizoram have different meanings. The negative slant towards non-tribals is dominant at Aizawl and Lunglei.

The word *vai* generally is used by the informants in Mizoram for the people who are coming from the plains of India. They are considered now-a-days as bad, uncouthful and cheat.

It may be noted here that the Mizos came in contact with the plains people of India in Cachar and in Chittagong hill tracts. According to most of the Mizos the *vais* are dark complexioned, have better nose than themselves and have shrunken big eyes. The Mizos emphasised that the *vais* are dishonest, cheat and they are full of bad manners (*vai chhia*). To explain their point, they have cited many instances which according to the Mizo way of life are 'bad'. In certain cases the educated Mizos living in the urban centres were so emphatic that they said that nothing good can be associated with the term *vai*. During the period of field-work such negative notions about the *vai* were openly stated at places like Aizawl and Lunglei. It may again be stated that Aizawl is a centre of political activities, a place where the Mizo intellectuals largely stay and it is also a place where now-a-days economic competition is hard.

If one moves from the urban centre towards the village, the meaning of the word *vai* becomes comparatively soft. Though the people by and large, agree to the above notions, they also say that there are good *vais*. In the village the people speak

about the *vai* in a lighter vain with a negative slant. At Champhai (situated at Burma border) some people told categorically that "*vais* are bad because we learn so. We do not come in contact with the *vais*". However, the people living in the village located between the two urban centres named above do not consider the *vais* as bad as the urban people conceive. At Champhai elderly people narrated their experiences about their encounter with the *vais* of Cachar highlighting the negative experiences in a modest tone. The situation at Demagiri was completely different. From the point of view of the Chakma, a tribe living at Bangladesh border, there was an overt urge to have more interaction with the Bengalees. On the other hand, the plainsmen irrespective of their religious affiliation expressed a jealous attitude towards the modernization process of the Mizos. They simultaneously consider the tribes as backward and honest. There is hardly any occasion where the Mizos and the plainsman participate in any festival or religious ceremony. Maintenance of social distance is rather normative.

When I asked the Mizo informants to mention the specific groups who may be called *vai* they usually named Bengalees and Assamese. When the informants were asked that who are Bengalees, most of them stated that those who are from Cachar district of Assam are Bengalees. When further probed, all Hindi speaking people, Punjabi, Tamilian etc., were designated *vai* irrespective of their religion. However, the Mizos refer to the Sikhs as *vaipoite* because of the fact that the Sikhs keep tuft of hair on their head, as the Pawi people of Mizoram does. The Nepalies are generally considered as *vai*, yet in the urban centre of Aizawl some educated people have pointed that 'now-a-days Nepalies are not bracketed with the *vai*'. A Khasi or Naga or any hill tribal people of North-east India are not *vai*. The Chakma who live in Mizoram are called by the Mizos as *takam*. The Riangs who are living in Mizoram-Tripura border are called *tuikuk*. It is interesting to note that neither all these tribes are considered as *vai* nor they are called by their respective tribes are considered as *vai* nor they are called

by their respective tribe names. When asked about the Pawi or the Lakher living in Mizoram, the Mizos living in the urban areas tried to brand them as Mizos. This is because of politicisation of the term Mizo. However, the Mizos traditionally refer them by the word *Awzia.*

Emergent and intra group notions about the out-group

(a) *Awzia*

I observed that ethnic groups like the Ralte, Pawi, Lakher, Paite are *awzia,* for the people who call themselves as Mizo, but as regards Hmar, many people are not very clear whether they are *awzia* or not. The notions regarding the meaning of the word *awzia* thus is confusing. However, in general *awzia* means the people who speak other than Duhlian dialect, and are living in Mizoram. For instance, the Takam are *awzia,* but the informants are doubtful about the *tuikuk* who are living in the plains.

We may now review the situation regarding the attitudes of the peoples living in the border regions of Mizoram such as *Chakma, Riang, Lakher, Pawi* etc., towards the Mizos. It has been observed that the Chakma who are called by the Mizos as *takam* and are considered as unwanted dirty people, view the Mizos as cruel, ruthless people. There are Chakma lullabys in which the children are asked to go to sleep by repeating the refrain that *kukis* (means Mizos) are coming to loot their village. The Mizos in general are referred to as *kuki* and *langda* by the Chakma and Riang. In certain matters, the Chakma look down upon the Mizos as uncivilised and illiterate for 'the Chakma have their own script'.

The Mizos in the past were viewed as inferior by the Lakhers also called the Chakma as *tako,* and their immediate neighbour Tlanglau as *tlalay.* All the Europeans, the white skin people, are called by the Lakher as *mongyu* which is equivalent to the Mizo's *sap.* The *vais* of the Mizos are *via* for the Lakher but with no negative stereotypes. However, it has been noted that there is no Lakher equivalent of the word *awzia* of the Mizos. The Mizos traditionally were looked

down upon by the Lakher for they thought that they are more technologically advanced than the Mizos. After the coming of the British the Mizos got the benefits of outside technology. As such the view point had undergone a change during the period when British consolidated their position in Mizoram. As a matter of fact, at that time, as has been told to me by the Lakher informants, the Mizos were considered as better off than the Lakhers on account of having better technological facilities. Now-a-days, however, the Lakhers do not consider the Mizos as superior but equal to them. The mongyu (*sap*) is of course considered as much superior to themselves by the Lakher "because their skin is white". The general concurrence of the Lakhers about the *vais* of the Mizos are that the *via* (*vai*) are wiser, clever, less sociable and miser.

As regards the Pawi the situation is widely different, the Pawi are called as *Py*. It may be noted that both the Lakher and the Pawi were brave fighters. They have connections, with the people of Hakachin area in Burma and therefore, sometimes the Pawi are called *hiakha*. Formerly, the Pawis because of their ferocity were considered superior to the Mizos, but now the opinions are diverse. As regards bravery, they are still respected. However, the Pawi of the Mizoram have lost their language excepting those who live near blue mountains and east of Kolydyne river. It may be noted that the church hymns of the Pawis are in the Mizo language. In this matter, the Lakhers are proud, atleast they show it and say it openly, that they embraced Christianity before the Pawis were converted, yet they maintain their own language and culture. It may be observed that the Pioneer mission which worked in the Lakher area have not made any attempt to change the dialect of the Lakher.

(b) *Sap*

The term *sap*, derived from Hindustani *Sahib* is used for Europeans. As a matter of fact, it came in to currency when the British Military outpost were established in Mizoram. At that time, the Mizos could observe that in the British army there were two types of people, one were those who were

to command (British) and others were those who ruthlessly obeyed the orders (Indians and Nepalis). Secondly, the Mizos also had observed that those who gave command had the power to negotiate, bring peace and to pardon offenders, but the others only obeyed the former's orders. The latter were treated like inferiors. Thus, the Mizos could identify that Erupean *vai* (subsequently called *sap*) were better and supreme than the soldier *vais*. During the course of negotiation and peace, the *sap* gave better respect and honour to the Mizo chiefs and warriors than their day to day trea'ment with their own soldiers. Afterwards the activities of the Christian Missionaries reinforced this notion.

We have observed that in course of time the *saps* became superior to the Mizos. There is not a single Mizo either in urban or in rural areas who told me that Mizos in general can become better or superior than *saps* They also pointed out categorically in each and every place in Mizoram, that *vais* can never be like Mizos. The *saps* are better than the Mizos for "they have golden hair, beautiful eyes, tall and white complexioned". "They are great for their broadmindedness". When they gave such answers, they gave in a general frame rather than in individuals sense. When the Mizos were asked by naming a few *vai* political leaders as what they feel about them, immediately they said that definitely 'they are equal to *sap*' or 'they are like *sap*' and 'far better than the Mizos' and 'unlike a *vai*'. As such it appears that a *vai*, according to the recent notions, can never theoretically become better than a Mizo, but when specific instances are mentioned they brand those as exceptions.

(c) The word *vai* can be used in various ways, for instance, if the prefix *kawr* is added to *vai* (i.e., *kawrvai*), it means the *vais* of the plains living near the river side It usually refers to the Bengalees of Cachar and sylhet, but if the suffix *kawl* is used to the word *vai* (*kawlvai*) it means Burmese people[2]. In this way it may be noted that the word *vai* originally was a neutral word becuase the prefix added to it (*kawr* or *kawl*) used to determine the people to whom it referred to[3].

In day-to-day life the Mizos use the term in a flexible manner with ambivalent notion. For example, if a Mizo mechanic cannot repair a machine, the people will tell him that it is a difficult work but a "*vai* can do it easily". That is the better skill of the *vais* are recognised. But if a school boy does not know how to sharpen a pencil he will be rediculed by the elders by saying that he is almost a *vai*.

There are many words in which the term *vai* is used as prefix or suffix as stated earlier, for instance, *vaimim* (maize) *favai* (chaff) etc. These words are in use from time immemorial. As regards maize let me quote from Marszewski, "Among the Lushai there are several names designating the particular varieties, which indicate from which neighbouring tribe they have been received. Then, besides the *ralte vaimim* (Ralte one tribe of Lushai) considered as indigeneous we have : *poi vaimim* (poi tribe in Chin Hills); *halka* (Halka-tribe akin to Poi); *lenliam* (Lenliam-village of Poi near Champhai); *tlanglau vaimim* (Tlanglau-tribe of Kuki in SW Lushai Hills); *miria vaimim* (Miria-tribe akin to Lushai, near Chittagong); *Lakher vaimim* (Lakher-tribe in S. Lushai Hills); *bawngpu vaimim* which means "Herdmen's maize" (after the name given in Lushai Hills to the Nepali immigrants) and *vai-vaimim* (vai-a foreign thing) considered to be obtained from outside Lushai Hills (Cachar plains or elsewhere)" (1962 : 271). I also observed that after the coming of the British in Mizoram, many place names have the suffix or prefix *vai*.

For example, vaikhawtlang, i.e., the placewhere the *vais* stayed. Then there are villages which are named after the village which the *vais* burnt down, the place where the *vai* terrain starts etc. In these names we do not observe any good or bad notions about the *vais*. I have been told that the Holy Cross of the Chin in Hakachin dialect is called *vailamtahnak*. At the time of the annexation of Mizoram by the British, as we have stated, the term *vai* was used even for the British people. The British expedition to Mizoram is called *vailen* or *vailian* and the time when the British invaded Mizoram is

called *vailenlai*. Lastly, it has been noted that if anything is made from a foreign country it is called *vaisiam.*

To understand the dynamics of change in the imaginary of the Mizos, regarding the term *vai*, let us review the situation in the time dimension We have observed that before the annexation of the area, the term *vai* was in use in the Mizo language. For instance, as we have noted earlier that by adding prefixes to the word *vai* even the Burmese people are referred to. (Lehman 1963 : 29). Lehman states "the Chin's designation of the Burmans, *kawl mi* (a Burman person), connotes rudeness, fickleness, deceit, and treachery......have another word, *vai*, for the Burmans and their culture......*vai* but not *kawl* is used in ritual formulas and in poetical language in Haka, and it is undoubtedly an older and more fuddamental way of referring to Burma......*vai*, a term which takes similar forms in Lushi... ..and other dialects or languages within the area, connotes the positive concept of Burman civilisation...... *vai*, then, stands for civilisation the place from which a greater quantity and diversity of things are to be had" (ibid : 29–30..

However, in some of the Mizo songs mild slant of inferiority towards the *vai* is given. For example, in a song which is post British gives out the meaning like this "Oh ! the girl friend of (*vaipa*) *vai* gentleman, your name is cheap, our Mizo beautiful girl, Rimenhawi, had far excelled you". It is worth nothing that the Christian missionaries did not patronise the negative slants towards the Christian *vais*. It is observed that in a very popular Christian song (around 1904) the composer has stated that the Khasi, the *vai* and the Lushai (Mizo) are one ("*Khasiteh, Vaihote, Lushaite, Kum Khat ani..............*"). This feeling however did not persist long. The superiority of the *vais* in certain matters, as has been stated become inferior to that of the *sap*. When we analyse the legends and folklores, we do not get the meaning as insisted by the Mizos in recent times.

I have collected a number of songs, chants, where the word *vai* is used. As a matter of fact in the chants and songs

which were song before the coming of the British, the *vais* were not considered as deceitful. In verses composed by Liancheri, (around 1800 A.D) the chants composed by Chawngduma (around 1850 A.D.), and in the verses composed by Vanhnuailiana (around 1861 A.D.), the term *vai* is used in context to the clothing which is superior, the people who are better than Mizos having luxurious life and as a prefix to something great[4]. I came to know that Hindu epic figures of Rama and Lakshmana were known to the old Mizos of the eastern part of Mizoram through folkstories. All, the old informants told that no negative stereotypes were attached to these Hindu mythical figures. In another situation a retired pastor once told me that he heard from his grandfather that "*valtkan talk loh na Chu Ban Chen a nia, vaiin Pathian antluk loh na Chu Changkhat Chen ani ani thin*". It means that a *vai* is one arm bigger than the Mizo and only inferior to god by a finger. We came across the word *vaipa* i e, a foreigner who is higher in rank and position than a Mizo. Occasionally the word *vai* in many chants and poems refer to either the British forces or simply the foreigners. In short, in the songs composed during and before the annexation of Mizoram we never came across the meaning of the word *vai* or the association of the word *vai* with a derogatory undertone. This has however, undergone changes since the annexation of the area by the British. Since the political tumult of 1966, a number of songs have been composed in which a few unknown Mizo poets have fixed the responsibility for their sufferings on the *vais* by narrating the negative aspect.

Summary

Spatially viewed by the Mizos of Mizoram, *vai*, a term used for outgroup has three broad typological meanings :

(i) In one sense all non-Mizos including the British people are *vai*.

(ii) In another sense all the people living in the plains of India are *vai*.

(iii) The plains people of Burma are considered as *vai* but in contrast to the Indian notion the concept is positive (Lehman 1963 : 30) and traditional.

It has been observed that from the point of view of the Mizos, there are different words for the outgroups considering their habitat and cultural contents. The people with poor technology, living as their immediate neighbours in the hills with mongoloid features, and speaking a dialect other than Duhlian, are *awzia*. The notion about which group is *awsia* and which group is not, is not very clear among the people. Each ethnic group has formed its notions about its tribal neighbours and has been using specific words to name others. For example, we have discussed about *takam*, *tuikuk*, *kuki*, *tako*, etc. Beyond the hilly tribal habitat all the people are *vai* as mentioned above. Beyond the territory of the Mizos, the hill tribes are sometimes given specific names. For instance, the Khasis who are living in the Khasi Hills are Khasis and the Nagas as Rallengs. They are not *vais*.

Viewing in the time scale, the *vai*, in the old form, means the people who are not tribals having higher technology and 'cultural possessions'. This included all the people of Burma plains and/or India plains. Initially it included the Europeans also. Subsequently the Europeans because of their having power and authority over the Mizos, could generate separate set of notions About the punitive expedition, Reid writers, "Mr. Murray says that every white man is held to be a chief, and the recent raid is therefore the most successful they have ever made" (1942 : 2). The *sap* category thus could emerge out of *vai*, having dominating positive stereotypes. Over decades *sap* as chief-par-excellence with great *rilru* (mind) and having better physical features hovered in the conception of the Mizos. The Mizos aspired to become *sap* not either through the cultural values of the Burmans or through the Indians, but through the values thrown, propagated and nurtured by the *saps*. Thus the old concept of *vai* (Cf Lehman, 1963 : 30) went on undergoing change. In the recent times the politicisation of the Mizos have brought about a derogatory undertone

to the meaning of the word *vai*, in contrast to the earlier notions, to get political benefits more dramatically after the Independence of India. In this matter the plainsmen looked down upon the Mizos as ignorant, dirty hillmen. The "*vais* never tried to win over the Mizos because of former's poor *rilru* (mind)".

In the concept of *diku* among the tribes of Chotanagpur (Sinha et al 1969) the idea regarding 'exploiters' played a significant role. Whereas in the term *vai*, traditionally, the positive connotations have played roles (Cf Lehman ibid). The agarian context (Singh 1972 : 377) has little relevance in the changing phases of the meanings of the term *vai*, though this is an important factor in the case of the tribes of Chotanagpur.

Pu Buanga's dictionary states that *vailal* is "the name of a great mythical chieftain who was as powerful as a god". The changes in the meaning of the term *vai* for the larger outgroups and hazy notions about the people living within the ecological area (*awxia*) are, however, noted for the same reason as stated by Sinha et al. They write "the tribals of Chotanagpur uplands and plateau have been exposed to modern economic, legal and political processes without completing the phase of integration with the regional capsule". (1969 : 137). This appears to be a truth for North-East India also. Yet it should be noted that I have tried to show in this paper that 'negatively stereotyped outgroup' is a phase in the time scale. Its universality at all times may not stand true, specially as regards the term *vai* is concerned.

NOTES

1. I am thankful to Dr. S. C. Sinha, ex-Director, Anthropological Survey of India, for his permission to undertake this work.

2. It is interesting to note that the people who are referred as *Kawrvai*, are also called *Kawrchhemaula* i.e., those *vais* who stole the forest bamboos.

3. I have been told by a Mizo political elite that the term *vai* is used for the things which are petty, small insignificant. But I did not find the relevance of the suggestion from the data at my perusal.
4. In this matter I am obliged to Pasior Liangkhaia.

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FIELD RESEARCH ON URBANIZATION AND FAMILY CHANGE IN INDIA

By

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Abstract: Is the existence of various dichotomies—rural-urban, traditional-modernity, Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft-an inherent characteristic of the transition from a pre-industrial to an industrial society? More specifically, will India's rapid urbanization necessitate changes in its familial, religious and economic systems? This paper does not offer a definitive answer to these questions; rather, through a bibliographical critique of the field research of 1968-1971, a period of heightened concern over these issues, this essay examines the conflicting viewpoints, hypotheses and data which demand further investigation. The first section of the article focuses primarily on research dealing with the alleged breakdown of the family structure as a result of urbanization while the second section considers the broader issues (such as the adaptation of rural migrants to urban areas) that are an outgrowth of the aforementioned polarization and dichotomy theories.

THE urbanization, which I shall use to refer to the ratio of urban dwelling persons to the non-urban dwelling persons in a country (Davis and Golden 1957: 123) is a powerful force in affecting social change is universally acknowledged. Numerous studies, mostly focusing on data compiled in Western industrialized nations, by sociologists such as Max Weber, Ferdinand Tonnies, and Talcott Parsons hypothesize that the existence of various dichotomies is inherent in the transition from a pre-industrial to an industrial society:—a rural-urban dichotomy, a traditional-modernity continuum, the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft dichotomy, etc.

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These theorists maintain that particular societal variables will always be associated with the rural or pre-industrial area while other variables are regarded as characterizing the urban industrial societies. Furthermore, by implication, it is hypothesized that a society undergoing rapid urbanization, such as India, will also experience changes in its familial, religious, and economic systems. For example, the aforementioned theorists have stated that the joint or extended family is appropriate for a rural, pre-industrialized society, whereas the nuclear family is the most functional type for a modern industrial society. Thus, theorists of this genre contend that the joint family structure is declining and is being replaced by a growing number of nuclear families. But, in actuality, is the joint family declining or is it, perhaps, as strong as ever today? Are the Western data concerning the characteristics of urbanization and their resultant social changes continuums applicable to the present situation in India?

The paper will not attempt to offer a definitive answer to the issues raised by these questions; rather, the discussion and questions above intended to provide a broad frame-work in which to examine and analyze some of writings that have been published on urbanization and/or family change (I have used this conjunction since some of the articles will reflect the interrelationship of the two topics while others will not. Section I will focus primarily on articles dealing with the alleged break down of the family structure as a result of urbanization while Section II will consider the broader issues that are implied in the polarization and dichotomies theories mentioned above.

I

The fundamental issues raised in my introduction are considered in an article by S. K. Kuthiala which is entitled "Impact of Factory Production on Traditional Societies: Modernization, Some Alternative views on India. (Kuthiala 1971 : 149-159) Kuthiala's main thesis may be summarized as follows :—industrialization in non-Western societies is a distinct phenomenon. The author emphasizes that urbanization

in the West as contrasted with India differs in that the former constituted an evolutionary process whereas the latter involves a planned movement toward industrialization. Thus, the institutional imperatives, such as the decline of the family structure and secularization, which are incorporated in the Gemeinschaft dichotomy are attacked by Kuthiala as not being inextricably linked to industrialization. To support his case for the limitations of applying the polarization theories to India, he stresses the characteristics which make India's urbanization and industrialization movements distinct from the Western models :—India's rapid population development, village-centered industries, the rise of small and medium sized factory towns and other attempts to decentralize industry. Kuthiala concludes by stating that,

> "It appears that institutional change for (modernizat) modernization can be more effectively manifested by preserving and utilyzing cultural or structural symbols which enable a society to develop new social forces without the negative effect of destroying the established structure."

Kuthiala's article makes a significant contribution by emphasizing that the industrial imperatives accompanying the polarization theories need not apply to India ; his article, however, suffers from a conspicuous lack of empirical data to substantiate that the traditional structures, such as joint family, are not declining. Such data, both supportive and refutive of his thesis, will be considered below from other articles of this period.

In 1971, two studies were conducted by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion which support Kuthiala's contention that the traditional structures are not being destroyed. One of the articles, "Joint Family : Still Strong", as the title implies, reaffirms the continued preference for the traditional family structure despite the present impact of urbanization (Indian Institute of Public Opinion. Monthly Public Opinion Survey,

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Ibid., p. 148.

May 1971 : 28-34). In this study, 6300 respondents were asked, "Do you think that as a system the joint family has a definite part to play in Hindu Society, or that it is obsolete and should break up ?" The results, as reprinted below were as follows (ibid : 29) :

	No. of Respondents	Definite Part	Has Its Points	Obsolute	Had Meaning Unsuitable in Present
Urban	28·8	40	19	11	11
Rural	3442	38	20	9	12

(Also, 19% urban and 21% rural—No Opinion)

As the results indicate, only about one-fifth of the respondents felt that the joint family had outlived its utility. Furthermore, a comparison of the rural and urban percentages support Kuthiala's criticism of the polarization theories, for the results are virtually the same for both.

Another study reported in the same issue of the journal entitled "The Institution of Marriage : Free v. Arranged Marriages also confirmed Kuthiala's views (ibid : 4-7). In this survey respondents were asked, "Do you think young people should have the freedom to choose their marriage partners or do you favour marriages arranged by parents ?" The results were as follows (ibid : 5) :

	No. of Respondents	Free Coice —Men Only	Free Choice —Both Sexes	Arranged Marriages	No. Opin.
Urban	2858	7	20	64	9
Rural	3442	6	18	67	9

In this instance, a sizeable two-thirds majority still cling to the traditional arranged marriage, yet a growing minority of mostly females, the young and members of middle—high income groups (as indicated by additional data in the survey) opted for freedom of choice in selecting a marriage partner. However, it should be noted that once again there is a lack of a rural—urban differentiatian as indicated by the similar results.

Perhaps one of the most well researched, empirical studies published during the period is M. S. Gore's text, *Urbanization and Family Change* (Gore 1968). Concerning the issues discussed above, Gore's study (conducted in both rural and urban areas of the Delhi Region) indicates that 79% expressed a preference for the joint family while only 18% preferred the nuclear family. Also, respondents living in joint families indicated in 88% preference in favor of the joint family structure regardless of whether they come from rural or urban areas.

Although the studies above support the view that the joint family is not declining as a result of urbanization, other articles published during the period disagree. "It (the joint family) is, however, fast disappearing under the impact of urbanisation, modern education, eclipse of traditional occupations, industrialization, etc." (Krishna Murty 1970 : 37). This conclusion was reached by N. S. R. Krishna Murty in an article entitled "The Emerging Young Woman of India" (ibid). In view of the data in the articles cited above, what evidence does the author present to justify her statement ? The study consisted of 57 women students attending Andhra University ; only 33% indicated a preference for the joint family. However, the shortcomings of such a study are blatantly obvious. The study sample is confined exclusively to the dissenting groups mentioned above in the public opinion survey, namely, women, youth and middle-high incomes. Thus, Murty's findings are neither suprising nor are they valid when the author attempts to formulate conclusions for India as a whole.

Another study by Pauline Kolenda, a compilation of numerous studies on the topic, concludes that"···these studies suggest that most Indians do not live in joint families." (Kalenda 1968 : 339-396) Upon closer examination of her work, however, it may by assailed for its methodology with respect to her contrived use o: definitions and classifications in order

[19]Ibid., p. 344.

to support her hypothesis. As she admits, "...no two (set of studies) used the same set of definitions of family type. (ibid : 344) Also, much of her data is not representative of the areas sampled nor was the data originally inclnded to evaluate the issues with which she is concerned. Another weakess is that her methodology implies a basic misconception of the joint family structure, namely, that it is not static but continuously in transition from joint to nuclear to joint etc. This cyclical characteristic of the joint family structure has been emphasized in an article by Harold A. Gould ; he asserts that :

> "One consequence of these normal rearrangements will be the inevitable emergence of a certain quantum of nuclear families whose existence will in no sense demonstrate that the presence of nuclear families is automatic evidence of disintegrating extended families." (Gould 1968 : 414).

Another article which contends that the joint family, as well as other traditional institution, are declining as a result of urbanization is D. S. Nag's "Role of Social Factors in Modernising Indian Economy." (1967 : 86-97) Nag, like the sociologists cited in my introduction, maintains that the extended family is only suited to subsistence economy and is not appropriate for societies which are experiencing economic growth. Nag predicts that as the government assumes more responsibility for economic emergencies such as unemployment, old age, disability, etc., then the joint family will vanish entirely. He proposes that "A wise course...is to maintain a rough proportiouate relationship between the pace of dissolution of the system and the pace of development of modern social security measures." (ibid : 93). Whereas the Murty and Kolenda articles at least offered some data to attempt to support their pronouncement of the disolution of the joint family, the present article is totally devoid of any empirical research, and likewise, of any substantive value.

In addition to predicting the end of the joint family system, Nag maintains that the caste system is also rapidly

declining as a result of urbanization (again, without any data). One of his arguments is that he contends that inter-caste marriage is increasing which, of course, is the foundation of the institution. Since the scope of this review is limited to articles concerning urbanization and social changes within the family structure, only one article discussed inter-caste marriage. H. K. Rakshit and J. Dasgupta presented their findings based upon interviews with 1352 couples in an article entitled 'Aspects of Marriage Patterns in Nine Population Groups of Maharashtra." (Rakshit and Dasgupta 1971) Contrary to Nag's speculation, their data show that for nine castes in Maharashtra the incidence of breach of endogamy was only seven percent. Their findings, while not necessarily representative of all India, are but one of the many recent surveys which refute Nag's views on caste. (Their data also showed that upper castes travelled farther for spouses than middle or lower castes.)

II

The articles discussed above (with the exception of the Kuthiala study which related to both sections of my report) have focused primarily upon the questions of whether urbanization is threatening the joint family system. This topic, as stated in my introduction, originates from the broader issues contained in and implied by the polarization and rural-urban dichotomy theories. In this section, therefore, this report will focus upon articles concerned with such interrelated issues as the adjustment from rural to urban societies, rural-urban differentials and over-urbanization.

Those who subscribe to the traditional polarization theories contend that since there exists a dichotomy between rural and urban areas to the extent that their life styles, attitudes, values, etc. are vastly different and even conflicting, it follows that the rural migrants to urban centers will experience grave adjustment problems, as well as create deleterious effects upon the modernization process. (Again, it should be stressed that this paper does not purport to offer a definitive position

concerning the issue, but rather, seeks to present a summary and analysis of the relevant articles.)

Fred W. Reed's, "Migration and Modernization", (1970) addresses itself to the issues by examining whether there is a correlation between the percentage of migrants in an area and the economic development of the area. Reed's sample consists of India's North-West Census Zone which contains numerous migrants from Pakistan resulting from the Partition of 1947. In order to relate migration to economic growth, Reed formulated and tested the following hypotheses :— (1) the greater the percentage of migrants in an area, the greater the reduction in the percentage of the labor force engaged in primary activities ; (2) the greater the percentage of migrants, the greater the percentage of the labor force engaged in secondary activities (Census data : 1951 & 1961) Since the data gathered supported both of the hypotheses, the author concludes with a discussion of the possibility that migration, rather than hindering, may actually cause modernization. Included in this discussion, Reed cites two of his case studies of migrants from Pakistan who adjusted well in their new urban environments and prospered.

Questions concerning the adjustment of migrants are also examined by William H. Form in "The Accommodation of Rural and Urban Workers to Industrial Discipline and Urban Living : A Four Nation Study." (1971) Form challenges the popular developmental hypotheses which contend that migrants from rural areas feel alienated, do not join unions, do not fraternize or do not vote as regularly as original inhabitants of urban areas. Form's view, referred to as the industrial man hypothesis, holds that workers rapidly adapt to an industrial society, regardless of urban or rural origin. He collected data from auto workers in India, Argentina, U.S., and Italy which substantiate his hypothesis by showing that no significant differences existed between migrants and original inhabitants with respect to adaptation to work organations, social interaction at work, as well as outside of work, and anomie.

Another study of the same genre was conducted by Alex Inkeles, "Making Men Modern." (1969) Although his main objective was to develop the characteristics of an empirically identifiable modern man, his questionaire also considers whether personal disorganization and psychic strain are unavoidable results of modernization. Results from his 6,000 respondents in various developing countries, like Form's data, so that workers need not experience deleterious consequences; applying the Psychosomatic Symptoms Test failed to produce any evidence of stress due to migration, factory employment or urban residence. Furthermore, Inkeles concludes that the Western models of industrialization (discussed in the introductory remarks) are not valid as being applicable to the developing countries for understanding the personal effects of industrialization and urbanization.

The dichotomy theories are also assailed in a study by K. L. Sharma (1970). Like Form and Inkeles, this author minimizes the conflict associated with modernization and maintains that rather than a dichotomy, there exists a gradual continuum between rural and urban, traditional and modernity. This provides for a continuity which does not necessitate the termination of traditional values in order to adopt new ones. "The existing values, however old they might be, could be even more pragmatic and utilitarian than newer values...values are not hurdles in the way of modernization." (ibid : 138, 142) His data, which was compiled in six villages in Rajasthan, also reveal that the traditional occupational structure continues to exist to a great extent alongside the new economic structure. Middle and lower castes have generally continued in their traditional occupations while the upper castes have displayed the greatest occupational mobility; yet Sharma hastens to note that this does "...not mean that they have discarded what they inherited from the past." (ibid : 142).

R. S. Khare chose to study the effects of adaptation to modernization by comparing the types of changes which Kanya-Kubja Brahmans must confront between their roles at

home and in the office. (1971) After Khare reviews their history, occupations and mobility, he illustrates some examples of conflict such as inviting their superiors in the office to their homes. However, Khare emphasizes that in some situations they cannot comprise their higher caste status, even for a superior. Thus, Khare concludes that modern occupations do not pose unmanageable conflicts and adaptations can be made without the basic institutions related to caste or family being threatened.

If modernization and urbanization, which also imply higher educational opportunities, truly reflect the existence of a sharp dichotomy between rural and urban, then it should follow that differences in attitudes toward modernization exist among various educational levels. R. N. Maletesha (1971) tested this hypothesis by sampling 132 boys of middle socio-economic status and also their teachers. His results indicated that that there was no significant difference between their attitude toward modernization and their level of achievement.

Another explanation of modernization, which is somewhat of a synthesis of the views of Form, Inkeles, et al., and those who subscribe to the developmental theories, is posited by Harshad R. Trivedi. (1971) His concept of "semi-urban pockets (or S. U. P. s.)" is used to describe local areas in urban centers in which he claims there is a lack of secularization, few integrative agencies, ascriptive social roles, traditional norms and kinship ties. He views the migrants as confronted by two conflicting forces :—centripetal forces out toward the formation of new secondary relationships and centrifugal forces which tend to preserve primary relationships and traditional values. These S. U. P. S, therefore, possess characteristics of both ends of the polarization theories and produce concentration of populations which, according to Trivedi, experience an institutional lag—few institutions with universal goals, weak integrative forces and a lower level of secondary relationships. Trivedi's work is entirely conceptual, offering no supportive data, and in view of Form's research,

certain aspects of Trivedi's conclusion (implying the existence of weak interaction) seem unwarranted. Perhaps Trivedi's S. U. P. s are purely SUP position.

While most of the articles cited above on urbanization and modernization tend to minimize the pernicious effects upon migrants (thus, questioning the validity of the dichotomy theories), a study by Gopal Bhargava emphasizes their difficulties in making the adjustment. (1971) After reviewing various causes of migration, both push and pull (he does not offer an opinion as to which is the greater force), he presents some data on migrant workers' proportion of the total working force and the percentage of migrant families without adequate housing facilities. His study, which encompasses India's eight largest cities, portrays the migrants as constituting a high unemployment rate and living in substandard, unsanitary living conditions. He refers to the villager's choice concerning whether to remain or migrate to the city as involving a dilemma between a "job without a home or a home without a job." (ibid : 26). Such a comparison, however, seems invalid in view of his lack of data depicting rural living conditions ; in other words, although urban conditions for migrants may be somewhat unsuitable, they may likely be superior to the migrant's village of origin.

In the studies above concerning the relationship of modernization and migration, the former has been assumed to be the independent variable and the value system of the migrant was viewed as the dependent variable. In other words, the debate centered on whether migration benefits or hinders modernization rather than vice-versa. Victor D'Souza (1969) reverses the cause-effect relationship by posing the hypothesis that family structure may be a contributing factor in the adjustment of migrants to urban areas. Since D'Souza agrees with Weber et al. that the nuclear family is the most functional type for modern industrial societies, he contends that nuclear families may facilitate industrialization. He proceeds by examining the notion that migrants experience economic success and a greater degree of occupational mobility because

they probably have high instances of nuclear families. His study consists of 65 workers in a factory in the Patiala District of the Punjab State; the workers consisted of original inhabitants, commuters and migrants. The results of a study measuring traditional and modernity attitudes indicated that those from nuclear families are the most modern oriented regardless of being an original inhabitant, commuter or migrant. D'Souza concludes that, "If a more modern oriented attitude is assumed to facilitate industrial development, the persons from nuclear families are more capable of making a greater contribution toward this end than those from joint families." (ibid : 110)

Turning once again to the existence, or lack thereof, of rural-urban differentials, two articles of this period report conflicting data concerning rural and urban attitudes about family planning. In a study by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion, "Urban and Rural Attitudes Towards Family Planning: A North India Survey" (1969), the data obtained from 3250 interviews in Bihar, West Bengal and the Punjab revealed that the incidence of birth control practice in rural areas is almost the same as in the urban areas. The extent of knowledge of modern practices was high in both rural and urban areas with 92% overall having either heard or read about family planning.

Contrary to the above are the findings of P. S. S. Rao and S. G. Inbaraj in "Knowledge and Attitude of Urban and Rural Populations in North Arcot District Towards Family Planning." (1970) Their data indicated that significant differences existed in knowledge and opinions concerning birth control practices among rural and urban respondents. For example, while 41% of the urban females acknowledged a belief that it was within the power of each couple to limit the size of their family, only 14% of the rural families held such a belief. In explaining the low acceptance of modern family planning methods, the surveys showed that religious opposition was the main obstacle in the urban areas while fear that such methods were harmful predominated among the rural sample.

'hile this study and the one above report vastly different :sults, they both stressed the importance of personal ntacts in producing attitudinal changes concerning family lanning.

The conflicting data on rural-urban attitudes toward mily planning, as well as the other conflicting studies viewd above, illustrate the validity of the following obser-ation by C. R. Prasada Rao :—"The dynamics of rural-urban igr ation are complex and varied and depend upon the volume ' migration and social characteristics of the migrants." (1970). rasada Rao's article, which is mainly a review of the findings ' sociologists such as R. K. Mukherjee, N. V. Sovani, and Karve, includes the following points :—(1) more than 5% of ie migrants from rural areas retain contact with their llages, resulting in a rural-urban continuum which reflects iiform patterns of socio-cultural characteristics (in contrast the dichotomy theories); (2) individuals migrate more ian families and males outnumber females, and these factors :count for the continued contacts with the village of origin;) migrants constitute high proportions of the young, better ucated members of their village yet they have lower edu-tion than the population of the city to which they migrate; us, the educational level of both the village and city are wered; (4) migrants come in greater numbers from both e highest and the lowest income groups and thus, push may a factor, but is not the decisive factor. Prasada Rao, him-lf, has not presented any new insights on rural-urban migra-on, but the strength of his study lies in its organization and :w perspective.

In summation, this report has examined some of the ticles published between 1968 and 1971 on urbanization and mily change. The conflicting viewpoints, hypotheses and inions presented illustrate that the issues are truly "complex id varied", as stated above by C. R. Prasada Rao. It is parent that the two main questions which provided the frame-ork in which to review these articles require further investi-tion. These questions are not merely academic exercises,

but rather, contain implications bearing directly upon the nature and type of institutions which India should either preserve or alter in order to facilitate urbanization and economic growth.

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ARE TRIBAL CULTIVATORS IN BIHAR TO BE CALLED "PEASANTS"?

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Abstract : An attempt has been made here to find out if the uniqueness of the peasants is found among the settled agricultural tribals in Bihar. The need of such comparison arises out of the seeming differences in language, religion etc. between the non-tribals and the tribals. The paper indicates that a large segment of the settled agricultural tribes in Bihar possesses the same uniqueness as the peasants.

IN the modern world we see a contrast between the advanced industrial sector and the agricultural sector. Such contrast exists on a world scale between the countries and also within the countries themselves (Frank 1967, quoted from Wolf 1971 : 48). This is, however, more pronounced in the developing countries because their economy is "peasant economy" (Thorner 1971).

The peasants, in spite of their numerical preponderance in the world, were not regarded as a subject for systematic study until the revolutions in Russia, Algeria, Germany, Turkey, Mexico etc. which were fought with resolute support of the peasants (Wolf 1971 ; 1973). These social and political upheavals which proved the revolutionary potentials of the peasants, impelled a group of European intelligentsia to undertake systematic study of peasantry in Eastern and Central Europe. In these societies the peasants were the poorest, most backward and numerically the largest sections (Shanin 1971a : 11). Subsequently the unique social and economic situation of the

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peasants had drawn the attention of political leaders, social anthropologists and ethnographers.

The twenty-seven years which have elapsed since Independence of India, have not improved the condition of the bulk of Indian peasants, despite governmental and semi-governmental efforts. Consequently, the peasant revolts against the existing social institutions of private property have become frequent[1]. These rebellions have made economists sigh and politicians sweat and swear, and have annulled the planners' plans and prophecies. In spite of all these, the study of the peasants is neglected in India. It is true that social anthropologists have since long been studying Indian rural life but owing to their professional leaning in Anglo-American tradition (Halpern & Brode 1967 : 11·), they view a village holistically, being oblivious of the importance of the peasants as a special social category[2]. Economists on the other hand, do not find the peasants congenial to their economic principles. The standard economic theory which describes the process of advanced industrial economy cannot explain the economic process of a society in which part or all the capitalist institutions are absent (Georgescu-Rogen 1966 : 360-62). It is, therefore, not surprising that they tend to turn down the issue of peasants as a "border subject"—implying thereby that the peasants are an amorphous body which can be shaped and reshaped as and when they would like. This is reflected when they plead for "grass roots" planning without concerning who actually form the roots. Those economists subscribing to Marxism-Leninism give stress more on the need for imparting political education to the peasants than for gaining a proper understanding of them so as to prepare them for a political struggle for the creation of a new social system[3].

The scholars engaged in analysing the attributes of peasant community in great detail differ among themselves in the concept of peasants. The present author in his earlier paper (1975) has made an attempt to clear out the confusion in various definitions. He defines peasants as those rural dwellers who produce themselves and/or assist in the agricultural production

and lie at the bottom of the hierarchy of power and imbibe cultural values which are different from those of the non-peasants. The peasantry includes owner-operators, share-croppers, tenants, landless agricultural labourers and artisans. They are in touch with market places and are governed by the forces of market, but they do not govern it as they usually make distress sale of their resources (including labour). In a village they are subjugated by the village power-holders or non-peasants who exercise control over village resources.

This definition of the peasants has been used here to analyse if the settled tribal cultivators and agricultural workers have the same uniqueness as the peasants. The seeming difference between the tribals and the non-tribals in language, ecology, religion etc. casts doubt about the potentiality of the tribals for emerging as peasants.

8.75% of the population of Bihar are tribal[4]. They are divided into 30 scheduled tribes. About 90% of them are concentrated in Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas and 97% of them live interspersed with the non-tribals in villages.

The tribes in Bihar as in other parts of the country[5], have historically grown up in symbiotic relationship with the elements of dominant society. This interaction has at times been so intimate that it is difficult to distinguish which one influenced the other. For example, it is not easy to say which one borrowed the use of vermillion from the other, first began to celebrate the "Karma" festival and propitiated the deity "Mahadev" (Sachchidananda 1964 : 130).

With the establishment of the "pax Britanica" in India, the process of interaction with higher culture was pronounced. The non-tribals in large numbers penetrated in the tribal villages to earn a fortune in moneylending and trade. Later on, the missionaries went there with cassocks. The influx of non-tribals brought about some change in the life of the tribal population. It transformed the uni-ethnic villages into multi-ethnic communities. It opened up new avenues of exploitation and asymmetrical power relations.

The non-tribals with their usurious moneylending and trade brought the innocent tribals into their subjugation. They usurped tribal lands for non-payment of debt and commanded control over the village resources. Their colosal exploitation compelled the Santal to rise in rebellion in 1855. But the rebellion was crushed and their unscrupulous activities went on as usual. More and more tribals were alienated from their lands. Such cases day by day became so frequent that the government had to take cognisance of the fact and passed legislation which is known as "The Bihar Tenancy Act, 1885." In subsequent years two other Acts in 1908 and 1949 have been passed to counter the process of land alienation. These laws, due to their faulty enforcement and the abuse of legal provisions, have not been able to stop the operation. In the wake of industrialisation in and around Ranchi, Hatia etc. such activities are specially boosted. According to 1965 survey, Ranchi P. S. alone had 752 illegal alienation cases during 1955-65 which involved 662 acres of land (Census Report 1968 : 16). The Government efforts, however, after the promulgation of emergency in June 1975, have brought a large number of tribal families back to the land which went to moneylenders as distress sale years ago.

Today the tribals of some areas are almost indistinguishable from the Hindu villagers. The Oraon, for example, have forgotten their past tradition (Sachchidananda, 1970 : 99) and the Munda have begun to lose faith in the power of their "Bongas" (op. cit. 88). The Gond of some areas have become "part-society as a caste" (Sachchidananda 1970 : 996). The Bhumij exhibit caste-like characteristics (Sinha 1965). In 1961, 72% of the tribals in Bihar enumerated themselves as Hindu (Census Report 1968 : 2).

The settled agricultural tribes have not only been influenced by the dominant culture but also adopted Hindu religious beliefs and practices. They propitiate Hindu deities such as Kali, Durga, Lakshmi etc. and observe Hindu festivals like Phagua, Dasahara, Diwali, Makar Sabkranti, Ghait Sankranti etc.

They have also accepted the "value orientation" or "ethos" of peasant life. Although the peasants' ethos of life varies over regions, there are certain values which transcend time and space. A cluster of three values may be considered here to illustrate our case.

The tribal cultivators, like the Hindu peasants have an intimate and reverent attitude toward the land. They consider land not simply as a means of subsistence but look on it suffused with religious feeling. It is reflected in their observance of several agricultural festivals such as Buna Puja, Asarhi Puja, Naya Khani etc. It is also due to the fact that occasional migration, draught, famine and similar other reasons have not been able to detach them permanently from their lands. It is because of this that they rose in rebellion against land-hungry mahajans who displaced them from sacred anchorage in land.

This intense attachment to land has given rise to another value : emphasis on agricultural industriousness. This emphasis is supported by three principal consideration—security, respect and religious feeling already discussed. The third value is restraint on individual desires in favour of family need : a ready labour force. This is why, marriage norms stress on economic consideration. Marriage is usually solemnised by the parents. Even when the boy selects his partner, he requires to obtain the approval of his parents for marriage. Laziness of the wife is often a cause for divorce. Several children are welcome because more hands mean more earning in the family.

The tribals are in asymmetrical power relations not only with the non-tribals but also within a community. Every tribe had well-established pattern of traditional leadership. Among some tribes it existed at the village level and in others it had a pyramidal form (Sachchidananda, 1974 : 105). The settled agricultural tribes have sacerdotal and secular leaders. The sacerdotal leader was considered to be superior to secular one. But in course of time secular leader "arrogated to him most of the power" (Sachchidananda 1974 : 105). The village and divisional headmen such as Parha Raja, Manki, Munda etc, were vested with government authority. In the Kolhan

area of Singhbhum district, village headmen had police and revenue power. They, however, well-exploited their priviledged position and formed an endogamous upper stratum of their community. They became "a caste within a tribe" (Sachchidananda, 1974 : 108). With the introduction of statutory panchayat in 1952, the traditional power structure is rapidly withering away and it is replaced by formal power relations (Sachchidananda 1967 ; 1974 : 108).

The populous tribes such as the Santal, Munda, Oraon and the Ho had taken up agriculture as the mainstay of their life for several centuries past. The other tribes were partly agricultural and partly living on hunting, fishing and forest produce.

Today almost all the tribes are agricultural communities. Among the total tribal population 78% are cultivators and 9.6% work as agricultural labourers. These cultivators are not homogeneous in terms of landholdings. The 1961 Census sample survey of 20% cultivating households of scheduled tribes in Bihar shows wide disparity in the size of their landholdings. Nearly 67% of the cultivating households have upto 5 acres of land, 28% 5 to 15 acres and 4% 15 to above 50 acres of land. The table below shows that the disparity in their landholdings is well comparable with that of Bihar.

Distribution of Cultivating households by the size of land

Size of land (acres)	Schedule tribe Population	Total population
Less than 5	67.1	71.6
5 to 9.9	22.8	17.3
10 acres & above	10.2	11.1

Source : A Report on the Situation in the Tribal Areas of Bihar, 1968, Patna. p-7.

The data, however, reveal that the large majority of the cultivators are family-farmers (presuming that a household of two adults and 3 minor can cultivate upto 5 acres of land by its own labour). They, like their non-tribal counterpart, do not affect the market system, in spite of the fact that they are in contact with the market places.

We, therefore, see that the large segment of agricultural tribes in Bihar fulfils economic, political and cultural characteristics to be called peasants[6].

Besides the heuristic value of the attempt as is made here, it has relevance for policy formulation. It calls for reconsideration whether the existing programmes for the scheduled tribes ensure development of this peasant section. Our experiences warn us against pursuing the mistake committed in the past. The lack of proper understanding about the village community, in fact, had belittled all developmental efforts for the poor. On similar grounds rethinking is also necessary on the programmes for the scheduled castes which comprise mainly the peasants.

NOTES

1. India witnessed two major upheavals during 1967-71, viz, the Naxalite and the Land Grab movements. These movements swept over West Bengal and parts of Orissa, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. For an account of the Naxalite movement see Mohan Ram, 1971.

2. Recently a few sociologists in India have shown interests in the peasant society. The pioneer of them is Andre Beteille (1972 ; 1974).

3. Georgescu-Reegen is of the view that the axiomatic base of Marxist theory which refers to an economy characterised by class monopoly of the means of production, represents the characteristic traits of the capitalist system. Therefore, this theory as the standard theory cannot validly analyse the economic process of peasant society (1966 : 361).

4. Figures herein and hereafter are based on the 1961 Census.

5. The absence of complete isolation and homogeneity in the Indian tribes have in fact made an intellectual puzzle among social anthropologists and ethnographers who have never been able to arrive at a concise definition of tribe by which all the tribals can be differentiated from the non-tribal population. This difficulty was abated when Bailey (1961) and Surajit Sinha (1965) defined tribe as an "ideal type" and conceived of tribe-caste and tribe-peasant continuua.

6. Andre Beteille (1974a) argues that the tribals are peasants. He also concentrates on the tribes in Bihar. His argument, however, is in different analytical framework. He follows the framework of Teodar Shanin (1971 : 11-19).

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

International Union of Anthropological & Ethnological Sciences (1973-78)

International Congress of Anthropological & Ethnological Sciences (1978).

President's third Newsletter (IUAES & ICAES)

SINCE I wrote to you in March this year, we have received numerous communications of various nature from the anthropologists all over the world as well as from our office-bearers and the Chairmen of the Symposia. In addition, I visited several anthropological centres in Canada and U. S. A. and attended the 13th Pacific Science Congress at Vancouver in August-September. I took this opportunity to meet persons, directly or indirectly concerned with our Union and the forthcoming Delhi Congress. In the light of these and other source, I take this opportunity to acquaint you with some of the recent developments which may kindly be read with my two other newsletters released in September, 1974 and March 1975 in Journal of Social Research and in other professional journals.

I. Symposia finalised

In my first newsletter five symposia—(1) Indians overseas, (2) Anthropology of the High lands (modified little), (3) Anthropology of shifting cultivation, (4) Development of Cultural Anthropology in Asia, (5) Traditions in World Anthropology were announced along with the names of the respective Chairmen. The Chairmen of the first three symposia have made considerable progress in identifying and defining their precise themes and have approached the prospective participants. It is hoped that other chairmen will kindly be more active and will let me know the progress regarding their respective symposia. It is also suggested that the respective Chairmen should plan their symposia in such a manner that

they may be able to edit a book out of the materials presented in each symposium.

The Soviet delegation suggested 14 themes for symposia which have been circulated in my second Newsletter. Out of these symposia the following four themes have been finally accepted and Chairmen for the respective symposia have been appointed and their consents have been received.

Symposia on :

1. The process of Ethnic Integration - some Theoretical & Methodological problems.	Chairman : Prof. Yu. V. Bromley (Moscow) Co-Chairman : Dr. A. K. Danda (Nagpur)
2. Neo-Evolutionism & Marxism.	Chairman : Dr. Julia Averkieva (Moscow) Co-Chairman : to be announced later
3 Role of Anthropological Data in studying Ethnogenesis of the people of the world.	Chairman : Dr. V. P. Yakimov (Moscow) Co-Chairman : Prof. I. P. Singh (Delhi)
4. Kinship system of the people the World.	Chairman : Prof. Fred Eggan (U. S. A.) Co-Chairman : Prof. T. N. Madan (Delhi)

II International Association of Human Biologist

The Secretary-General of IAHB, Dr. Francisco M. Salzano (Brazil), in a letter has conveyed IAHB's offer to take an active part in the organisation of symposia and sessions related to the Human Biological aspect in the forthcoming Congress. The seven-member Committee on Physical Anthropology headed by Prof. I. P. Singh (Delhi) has been requested to seek the co-operation of IAHB and specially of Prof. J. S. Weiner (President of IAHB) who is also a member of the IUAES Secretariat, and of the Secretary-General Dr. Salzano.

III Commission of IUAES

The IUAES Commission on Ethnocide and Genocide is now in action. Its Chairman, Dr. Cyril S. Belshaw circulated

the terms of reference and the procedure for operations. In July 1975 the Commissioners agreed on a programme of work, designed to establish a momentum and to development with issues which will have the effect of forcing the evolution of procedures and methods. In order to begin its work and gain experience with appropriate procedures, as well as potentially to help in the solution of possible outstanding matters, the Commission has decided to initiate a series of country and case studies and to first concentrate upon one namely, Coloumbia. The Chairman of the Commission has taken appropriate steps to collect information from various sources on the situations in Coloumbia in the light of which he will prepare a summary report raising the instrumental issues. This report will be circulated to members of the Commission to seek the Commission's advice about appropriate follow-up action.

The Commission on Urgent Anthropology and Visual Anthropology under the Chairmanship of Dr. Anna Hphenwart-Gerlach-Stein (Vienna) has been able to revive considerable interest in urgent research. The Questionnaires issued by the Commission to conduct a world-wide survey of individuals and institutions interested in urgent research have been received and are being processed. The Chairman has a plan to publish the results initially in a Newsletter and finally in shape of a report, in the due course. The Chairman also attended the meeting of the working group on the Rome meeting of the Permanent Council held in Rome on September 26-27 which advised her to select a few areas for urgent research. The Commission is likely to take steps on this issues and members interested in urgent research are requested to contact her.

The Commission on Population headed by Dr. Moni Nag continues to be active. In course of my discussion at New York on September 5, Dr. Nag conveyed the Commission's proposal to hold a three-day Post-Congress symposium on Population and Culture. His detailed proposals are still awaited.

The proposed Commission on Futurolgy has found acceptance by several colleagues and members of the Executive Committee of the IUAES whom I met personally. I was also advised to associate Dr. Mogoro Mariyama with this Commission. May I request you, again to let me have your comments and suggestions regarding the composition and term of reference of this Commission on a priority basis ?

In addition to the previous invitations for holding Post-Congress sessions (Bhubaneswar, Calcutta, Delhi, Lucknow and Ranchi) invitations have been received from Jaipur and Hyderabad. The Director of the H.C.M. State Institute of Public Administration, Mr. H. M. Mathur has extended an invitation to hold a three-day symposium on Anthropology of Development which is under our active consideration. Dr. D. P. Sinha, Administrative, Staff College of India, Hyderabad in consultation with Mr. D. R. Pratap of Tribal Research Institute, Hyderabad has asked for the possibility of holding a Satellite Congress at Hyderabad (South India). His detailed proposal is awaited for our consideration. The Bhubaneswar, Calcutta, Lucknow and Ranchi Satellite Post-Congress Committees have been constituted and they have chalked out their detailed scheme for holding their respective Satellite Congresses.

At the IUAES level, the working group on the Rome meeting of the Permanent Council met on September 26-27 and finalised the details regarding the forthcoming sessions of the Permanent Council. Subject to the confirmation, the Permanent Council will meet at the Accademia dei Lincei (Rome) on May 3—5, 1976. The Executive Committee of the IUAES will meet in Paris on December 10 and 11, 1975 in the UNESCO House.

We expect to take major policy decisions regarding the activities of the Union as well as regarding the preparation of the Congress in these two forthcoming meetings.

V. Resource Mobilisation

The Secretary-General, Professor Dr. L. Krader informs me about the sanction of $ 1,500 by ICPSH for the support of the publication of the proceedings of the Xth ICAES (Delhi). Further, sums have been made available for our two projects—(a) Urgent Research, (b) Bibliographies in Ethnology (a. European Folklore, b. The Ethnographic Atlas of Africa).

As the Congress is drawing near, more and more need is being felt for the fund We count upon you all for helping us in this matter. A Bank account in the name of the President, International Congress of Anthropological & Ethnological Sciences has been opened in the Union Bank of India, Ranchi (Account No. 3429) and contributions and donations may kindly be sent to us to facilitate the preparation of the Congress. Any financial help received from individuals and organisations will be thankfully acknowledged.

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BOOK REVIEWS

DIALOGUE LYRIQUE DES CAU MAA—(*Tam pŏt maa'*)—*pp. 116 presente par J. Boulbet.*

Paris : Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient—1972.

This is an explanation of a poem-song, lyrical and erotic of the Can Maa tribe of South Vietnam. A set of photographs (in appendix) illustrates parts of the theme of the dialogical love-song. The different stanzas have no close connection among themselves except that the main love theme runs through them. The author gives first a straight translation of the whole poem and then a detailed interpretation and commentary, after which a more rigorous rendering of the strophes is offered. The entire poem-song, of a little over 200 lines, sings of love close to nature, but often cryptic in its lyrical expression. A useful glossary is given at the end.

F. E.

THUONG KINH KY-SU—*Lan-Ong.*

(*Relation d'un voyage a la Capitale*),—*Pp 178.*

Traduction et Annotations par Nguyen-Tran-Huan.

Paris ; Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient—1972.

We have here a translation of a MS of around 1783 written in ancient Chinese. The translator, Mr. Nguyn-Tran-Huan, is a doctor trained in the West but who had always been keenly interested in the old indigenous treatises on Medecine of his country, old Indo-China.

Lan-Ong, author of this medico-literary work under review composed his narrative—one of the many he wrote—after a visit to the 300 miles distant capital (Hanoi) in 1782. It is in the nature of a travelogue by a very perceptive independent and original doctor, describing nature and people of the places he traverses, noting his experiences, expressing opinions and judgements on the medical practice of the time as he observed it in the course of his journey and his stay at Hanoi. Lan-Ong paints a fine picture of the political and social life in Vietnam at that period. Poet that

he was, he intersperses his story with verses expressive of his moods and feelings on various occasions. An Index of Chinese terms and a bibliography concludes the volume.

F. E.

L'ASTRONOMIE INDIENNE, *par Roger Billard—Pp. 182 & 52 Diagrams.*

Paris : Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient—1971.

The history of ancient Indian Astronomy has been attempted in the 18th century ; but it is now being placed on a sounder, more scientific basis. Indian Astronomy has a 14 centuries long history. The author of the book before us, Mr. Roger Billard, has worked on all the pertinent Sanskrit texts so far discovered, dating from the 6th to the 18th century. Of course, in ancient times, the study of astronomy in India, as in many other countries, was often undertaken for astrological and superstitious or religious purposes. In the latter period it became more scientific and gives proof of many correct observations, calculations and valid intuitions. An example : whilst a popular theory explained the eclipses by the story of *Rahu* devouring the sun or moon, 6th century asronomers already laughed this theory to scorn. The author patiently studies the intricate history and development of ancient astronomical systems, which, of course, were largely pre-scientific. In appendix we find 52 diagrams for astral conjunctions in which the ancients were so deeply interested.

F. E.

Papers and Proceedings of the Workshop-cum-Seminar on Rural Institutions and Agricultural Development. *Edited by Waheeduddin Khan ; National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad ; Pp. xx 411 ; Price Rs. 40.00.*

This book is the outcome of the workshop-cum-seminar organised by the NICD from October 14 to 16, 1971, on the role of rural institutions in agricultural development. The proceedings volume contain three key note papers and forty background papers, contributed by economist, social scientists, representatives of the departments of Central and State governments, banking authorities and administrators.

The papers mainly centre around the role of the various institutions which provide the necessary material and non-material inputs in sustaining the new agricultural strategy and agricultural development with social justice to the small farmers.

The participants in this seminar practically ignored to identify the broken social links of the Indian agricultural-economy. Not a single paper adequately deals with the reasons of our failure to reach the destination. Most of the papers are prone to presenting optimistic views while highlighting the role and contributions of their own institutions in agricultural development and modernisation process. It would have been really worthwhile if the participants of this seminar could have deliberated on the ways and means of keeping the various plans and projects 'alive' till it reaches the small farmers who are actually being exploited by the higher ups.

The volume contains a select bibliography on different aspects of agricultural development.

P. Dash Sharma

Census of India 1961 ; A monograph on Gonds, Volume II, Ethnographic Notes—Part VB (1) ; *Edited by P. S. R Avadhany, A. M. Kurup and B. K. Roy Burman ; Office of the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, pp. v+51, Photographs 20 ; Price Rs. 4.75, 11 sh. 4 d., $ 1.75.*

Census of India 1961 : A monograph on Yatas, Volume II, Ethnographic Notes—Part VB(3), *Edited by P. S. R. Avadhany, A. M. Kurup and B. K. Roy Burman ; Office of the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, pp. vi+29, Photographs 10 ; Price Rs. 3.50, 8 sh. 2d.,* $ 1.26.

Census of India 1961 : A monograph on Godaris, Volume II, Ethnographic Notes—Part VB (4) ; *Edited by P. S. R. Avadhany, A. M. Kurup and B. K. Roy Burman, Office of the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, pp. vi+23, Photographs 13 ; Price Rs. 3.80, 8 sh. 11d., $ 1.37.*

And

Census of India 1961 : A monograph on Godagali, Volume II, Ethnographic Notes—Part VB(5), *Edited by P. S. R. Avadhany, A. M. Kurup and B. K. Roy Burman, Office of the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, pp. vi+25, Photographs* 12, *Price Rs. 3.70, 8 sh. 8d., $ 1.35.*

These four small monographs on Gonds, Yatas, Godaris and Gadagali are the product of the ancillary operations undertaken by the Social Study Unit of the Office of the Registrar General, India, New Delhi, with the co-operation of the Office of the Director of Census Operations at the state level, and are published under the series on 'ethnographic notes' by the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh.

All these ethnographic monographs have been prepared within the specified framework prescribed by the Registrar General's Office, which broadly covers various aspects like origin, history, family-clan, material culture, economic life, life cycle, religion etc., of the communities under discussion. These small monographs give standardized general information on the customs and practices of the above communities of Andhra Pradesh in a traditional ethnographic style. These monographs would provide useful background information for organising specialized research on these communities and can also be fruitfully utilised by administrators and social workers.

P. Dash Sharma

Kinship and History in South Asia. *Edited by Thomas R. Trautmann 1974, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Centre for South and South-East Asian Studies, University of Michigan pp. x+157, Price $ 2.50.*

This volume contains four papers presented in South Asia Conference held at the University of Toronto on May 12, 1973. Contributors include scholars belonging to different disciplines like historians, anthropologists and literateurs.

Brenda E. F. Beck's paper, *The Kin Nucleus in Tamil Folklore* builds on the idea that there are two dimensions to any kinship structure. One level describes relations between descent groups, while the other describes certain special bonds that exist between the members of a small "kin nucleus". Her paper attempts to develop in some detail the possibility that there is a 'Kin nucleus' in Tamil folklore and mythology. The analysis demonstrates how the concept of a kin nucleus in Tamil folklore helps to understand the complexity of the kinship system. Such a frame of analysis

may help us to make sense out of a great deal of folklore material and to understand Hindu panthion and the Hindu sacred calendar.

Some aspects of kinship in ancient Tamil literature by George L. Hart, is based on the study of woman and the sacred in the ancient Tamil literature of the Sangam period. He attempts to elucidate the date of this literature in terms of internal evidence and also relate it to Beck's "kinship nucleus". He finds that the kinship system of South India, which pervades virtually every area of life and of human endeavour, is motivated by the role of woman in the culture. This is well expressed in a common Tamil proverb : *A vatum pennale, alivatum pennale,* that is, through woman is being and through woman is downfall.

Trautman's paper on *Cross-cousin Marriage in ancient North India* is a critical examination of the evidence for cross-cousin marriage in early North India and is essentially an attempt in determining historical facts from literary materials.

Narendra K. Wagle in his paper, *Kinship Groups in the Jatakas*, presents a survey of the material on kinship categories found in the Pali Jatakas. His description of kinship groups is mainly derived from the Jataka prose "Stories of the Past" (*atitavatthu*), and the verses (*gathas*) which form part of the "Stories of the Past". He has attempted to ascertain the kinship groups in the Jatakas by examining a number of key terms and expressions. He finds the concepts of household, family, *nataka*, *nati*, *jati* and *gotta* used in the texts.

This book successfully brings together the specialised works of scholars from different disciplines on kinship and broadens the base of kinship studies by adding historical dimensions of kinship in addition to anthropological and sociological approaches.

A. K. Haldar

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